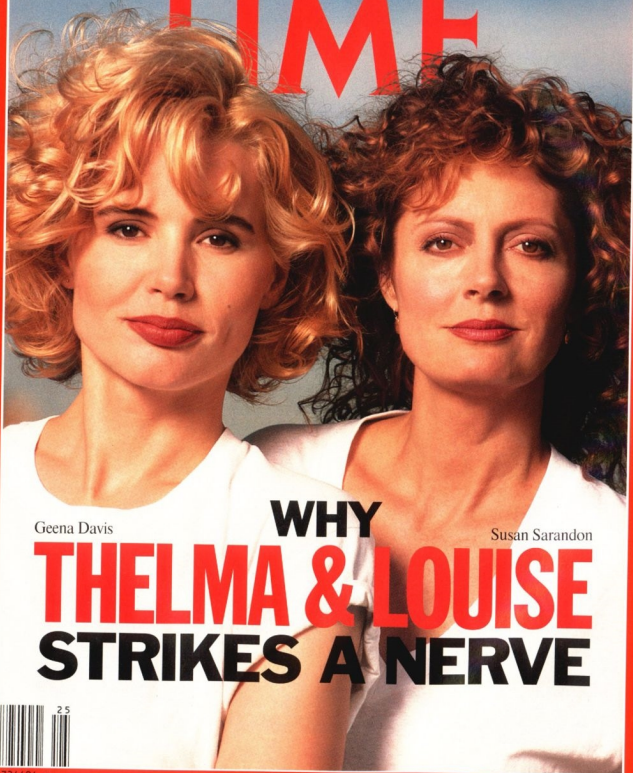


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VOLCANOES: Predicting Eruptions

TIME



Geena Davis

WHY

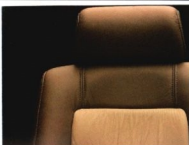
Susan Sarandon

THELMA & LOUISE
STRIKES A NERVE



25

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*Seats upholstered in leather except for vinyl on rear side of seatback and other minor areas. **J.D. Power and Associates 1989 and 1990 Initial Quality Survey.† Based on owner-reported problems during the first 90 days of ownership. © 1991 Mazda Motor of America, Inc.

TIME

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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The life and hard times of Mississippi's poorest region

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COVER Photograph for TIME by Timothy White

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14 / HUGH SIDNEY'S AMERICA



28 / LANDSLIDE WINNER

PHOTO: STEVEN DUNSTON

JOHN J. ROSS/REUTERS

WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE/REUTERS

FROM THE PUBLISHER

Journalists often need to be archaeologists, sifting through the pottery shards and empty chambers of a place to unlock its mysteries. During his 33 years at *TIME*, Washington contributing editor Hugh Sidey has developed his own way to recognize the character of small towns. "If there is a nice, tidy Episcopal church, then you know there is a strong ruling elite," he says. "If there is a huge Methodist church, you know there is a large middle class. And if you go to the main square and the streets are deserted, you know there is a discount store somewhere in the area that has sucked the life out of the downtown."

Sidey comes naturally by his powers of observation. A native of Greenfield, Iowa (pop. 2,074), he grew up working on the family newspaper, the *Adair County Free Press*. "I got some valuable lessons from my little town," he says. "It taught me to notice what is growing in the ground and what the field looks like when the sun comes up. That's a big part of what I'm all about."

Cracking the enigma of Mississippi's Delta for this week's is-

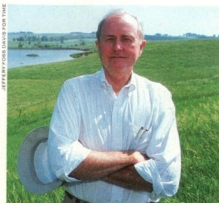
sue, however, strained even Sidey's talents. To prepare for the story—the latest in a series of dispatches appearing under the rubric Hugh Sidey's America—Sidey spent two weeks poring over

books on the region and interviewed almost 100 sources. "The Delta is so complex and different," he says. "There, the struggle for the nation's soul is still going on."

Rural Mississippi is a long way from the White House, where Sidey has chronicled the comings and goings of Presidents from Eisenhower to Bush. But for this veteran Washington watcher, who logs at least 100,000 miles a year roving the country's byways, the heartland is where the drama of

American politics unfolds. "Any program that is passed either affects certain people or they have to pay for it," he explains. "To comprehend the political struggles in Washington, you have to know what's occurring in the small corners of this nation." Sidey has always been unerring in his devotion to that axiom. The politicians he covers sometimes tend to forget it, and that's how many news stories get their start.

Robert L. Miller



Sidey in a field near Greenfield, Iowa, where his family still runs the local newspaper

"To comprehend the political struggles in Washington, you have to know what's occurring in the small corners of this nation."

Where do
TIME editors
take the pulse of
TIME readers?

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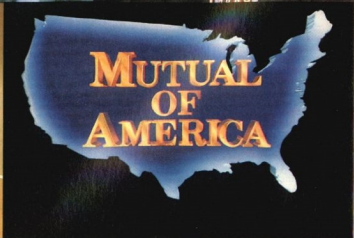
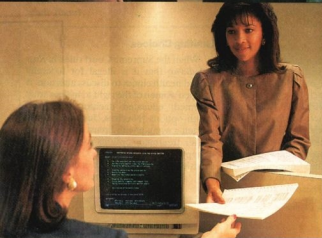
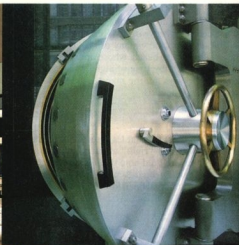
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LETTERS

DATE RAPE

"Rape is a violent abuse of power."

Rachel Beauchamp
Central Islip, N.Y.



Your article on date rape enraged me [BEHAVIOR, June 3]. We are now in the '90s, and Americans are still having problems understanding women's rights. When will this country learn that when a woman says no, she means NO?

Colleen M. Brennan
Michigan City, Ind.

I relived my own date rape when I read your story. I am one of the 90% who do not report the rape. I had few physical bruises, only psychological and spiritual scars, which I still bear today, nearly three years later. I don't know if I will ever again be able to trust another human being in the same way.

Name Withheld on Request
Newark, Del.

The actual act of rape is only part of the problem. Unfortunately, society's darkest attitudes toward victims are often quite harmful. In addition to the pain of the experience, the victim must cope with the guilt and shame caused by those who think it was really her fault. Blaming the victim is yet another form of violation.

Amy Buthod
Norman, Okla.

Going out on a date may have something in common with going to the operating room: a need for informed consent and

written permission. Extended to a logical conclusion, malpractice coverage will be needed for dating, creating another fertile field for attorneys.

Robert Kerin, M.D.
Milford, Conn.

What were the boys and men who are forcing women to have sex taught by their fathers? Were the fathers overly concerned that their sons be "men," proving themselves by scoring with the opposite sex? Did these fathers encourage such achievement without actively instructing their sons about judgment, respect and ethics? There are too many boys who consider girls their personal sex labs for gaining manly experience and prestige.

Samantha Johnson
Denver

It seems these days that a woman can dress and behave seductively to get a man to buy dinners, clothing... ad infinitum. Then, when a man responds to her seduction by initiating physical intimacy, he becomes a criminal. It is becoming entirely too dangerous for a man to have sex at all. Until women take more responsibility for how they manipulate men with their sexuality, the date-rape problem will persist.

Joe Nicassio
Long Beach, Calif.

Obviously, something is wrong with the male perspective of sex. Regardless of how many dates, how many drinks, how many walks on the beach, whose apartment you may be in, the time of night or day, if the woman says no, the man should stop. No debate is needed.

Joe Chizmas
Shelburne, N.H.

I did not say that Carleton College students weren't "right" about whether they were raped. I did note that neither the college hearing boards nor the courts had found there had been forced intercourse.

Stephen R. Lewis Jr., President
Carleton College
Northfield, Minn.

To expand on my remarks that were used in your story, I would like to point out that, of course, I am deeply distressed by unfounded accusations of rape. However, when sexual violations do occur, abused and exploited individuals sometimes use the label of "rape" to express their vulnerability, shame and rage. While this term may be inaccurate, such an expression is emotionally empowering for the people who use it. For the accused, hearing the term rape can come as a horrible shock. My goal in these situations is to help the accused understand his part in the encounter and have him ask himself questions such as: "Do I have the potential to do to her what she says I did?" These are good ques-

tions, invariably leading people to clarify their actions and take responsibility for them, then and in the future.

Catherine Comins
Assistant Dean of Student Life
Vassar College
Poughkeepsie, N.Y.

Assassination in India

Maybe India is in a state of shock [WORLD, June 3], but its democratic institutions are not a shambles. A spurt of violence does not surprise us; we know it is created by our politicians in pursuit of power. But people are waking up. With the sad assassination of Rajiv Gandhi, the tendency to cling to one family will cease, and people will look at the fitness of a candidate to hold public office rather than at looks, name or charisma.

Kumbakonam S. Venkatraman
Madras, India

The world is stunned and pained by the outrageous murder of Gandhi at the hands of the enemies of democracy. He was an indefatigable and important political figure, highly charismatic and a statesman of great courage and conviction. His death is an irreplaceable loss to India and to the developing world as well.

Joaquim de Irineu Fernandes
Odivelas, Portugal

It is indeed troubling that in spite of 43 years of independence, the death of one man can impact the lives of 844 million people. India has no dearth of competent leaders, but we continue to be subjects not of the British monarchy but of the Nehru dynasty. India will truly awaken when it stops being mesmerized by one family.

Mahesh Srinivas
Noida, India

You have overemphasized India's dependence on a single family for political stability. At the grass-roots level, we Indians are independent, self-reliant and strong enough to absorb national tragedy. Ironically, the death of Rajiv Gandhi may herald a new and powerful India.

Santosh H. Butani
Aundh, India

Limiting Choices

When the Supreme Court ruled in *Rust v. Sullivan* that it is illegal for federally funded health clinics to discuss abortion, it stripped women of the right to make a truly informed, educated decision about all health options [NATION, June 3]. Would you tell a woman with breast cancer about all her treatment options except chemotherapy? That would be reckless and irresponsible. So is the decision in this case.

Elizabeth Cardinale
Santa Clara, Calif.

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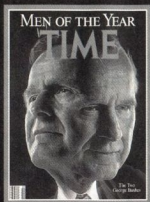
InfoWorld, January 28, 1991.

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We cannot blame the Supreme Court for ruling that family planning clinics receiving government funding cannot discuss abortion. A federal regulation is not necessarily unconstitutional because it is stupid, discriminatory, harmful to low-income people and improperly intrusive into the practice of medicine. The blame must be placed on Administrations that seem to believe problem pregnancies are best treated by ignoring one possible solution.

*Gordon E. Walter
Fort Wayne, Ind.*

No one has said clinics can't discuss abortion; they just can't do so on the government's money. As a taxpayer, I do not want my money going to support abortions and would strongly resent the government's spending my hard-earned tax dollars in that manner.

*Bonnie Cox
Santa Barbara, Calif.*

Waiting Time

As Michael Kinsley's (private) physician, I take exception to his piece "For Better Care Try Snob Appeal," in which he complained about how physicians sometimes keep patients waiting [ESSAY, June 3]. Since he comes to see me only every five to 10 years, he has undoubtedly forgotten that our waiting room does not have "little to read," but features a wide variety of publications, including two for which he writes, *TIME* and the *New Republic*. Of course Kinsley doesn't get much chance to read them since he has to wait only 10 minutes to see me. Furthermore, his notions about Executive Health Maintenance organizations sound good but ignore practical matters like overhead expenses.

*Daniel Ein, M.D.
Washington*

My father, an obstetrician, had an office in a building that was attached to a large shopping mall. Patients were given beepers and could shop or hang out in a bookstore until just before Dad was ready to see them, at which time they were paged. You can avoid the waiting room.

*Thomas Joseph Sinsky
Hollywood*

Parochial vs. Public Schools

Yes, Roman Catholic schools do it better [EDUCATION, May 27]. My daughter attends one in Tampa. When I drop her off there each day, I feel that I am leaving her with family. She is learning at an unbelievable rate in accelerated classes. Catholic-school teachers teach. I am a single parent, but I manage to pay almost \$4,000 annually for junior high tuition. It is worth every penny and more.

*Paula D. Nunnery
Plant City, Fla.*

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Richard Scoville. *PC World*, February 1991.

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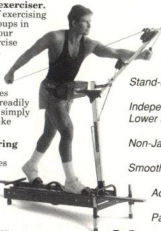
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LETTERS

Having attended a Catholic school myself, I know the excellent services these institutions provide. But advocates of Catholic schools have attempted to magnify their accomplishments by contrasting them with the public schools. They fail to note that a hefty portion of the cost per pupil for Catholic schools in New York City is actually borne by the public school system. This includes costs for food, transportation, testing, remedial reading and math instruction and substance-abuse education, to name just a few. Obviously these costs artificially inflate the public schools' total budget. It is important to remember that while public schools serve all children, regardless of race and income, gender, physical or mental handicap, Catholic schools educate only those students they choose to accept.

Much is made of the weaknesses of America's public education, but anyone who has visited the schools knows that they are full of impressive youngsters, extraordinarily talented staff and exciting programs. We have seen an improvement in math scores in the early grades this year, an increase in attendance at all grade levels and a decline in the high school dropout rate. I wish Catholic schools the best, but I urge them not to proclaim their success at the expense of the public schools, one of this country's greatest institutions.

Joseph A. Fernandez, Chancellor
New York City Public Schools
New York City

No Big Loan to Trump

Your assertion in the article about Donald Trump's financial problems [BUSINESS, May 6] that the Bank of America has loaned "some \$400 million" to Trump is inaccurate. The only business the Bank of America has ever done with the Trump organization is a \$20 million participation in a credit facility for the Trump Shuttle.

Patrick P. Horan, Senior Vice President
Bank of America
Los Angeles

How Safe Is Your Lawn?

The answer to the question "Can Lawns Be Justified?" [ENVIRONMENT, June 3] is yes. They prevent soil erosion, provide mud-free recreation areas, increase property values, provide cooling in summer and improve soil structures. Chemicals that control plant diseases and parasites are not necessarily bad. Commercial pesticide applicators must pass exams and be licensed. Consumers should be educated and not use pesticides carelessly.

David R. Hershey
College Park, Md.

We spend way too much time and money trying to perfect the national outdoor green wall-to-wall carpet. Why don't we like nature's ground cover? What is wrong

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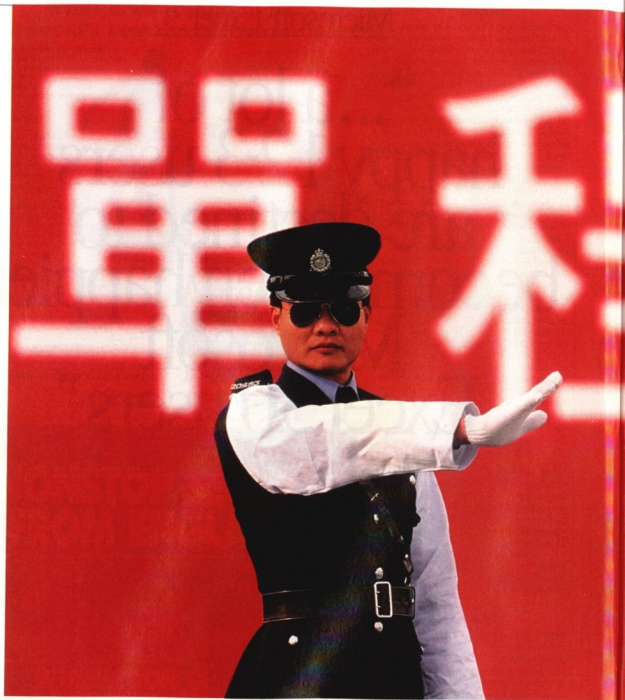
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Jim Seymour. *PC Week*, January 28, 1991.

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LETTERS

with prairie grass or dandelions or whatever grows on its own? Lawns are as useless as neckties and much more expensive.

*Robert Perschmann
Chaska, Minn.*

When I asked the lawn service if it was putting pesticides on our yard, the answer was yes—15 different chemicals. After some arm twisting, the service agreed to a program of natural fertilizers (chicken droppings and such). The lawn man said our grass would be so dense and healthy from this program that we would probably have no problem with weeds and bugs!

*Nancy B. Lewis
Summit, N.J.*

Let's Take a Look at the Geographical Breakdown

That's exactly what seventh-grader Rick Morgan and his classmates at the Derryfield School in Manchester, N.H., did as part of a geography project. The students analyzed the TIME Letters section in 26 issues starting with Nov. 12, 1990. Rick supplied us with the results of the survey:

- TIME published 405 letters, including 84 from abroad.
- California residents had the most letters, with 62; their closest competitor was New Jersey, with 26.
- In only two issues were there no letters from California.

Rick wrote, "I am curious as to how you select the letters. I thought you might try to represent states equally, but our survey showed there are many letters from California, but nothing from Alaska, Alabama or Oklahoma." We choose letters for publication based on what they say, not where they come from. Should one conclude from this survey that Californians write more interesting letters? A more likely explanation: it's the most populous state.

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A black and white photograph of Frank Drebin, played by Mel Brooks, in a dark suit and tie. He is standing inside a large, metallic, cylindrical barrel that is tilted upwards. He is holding a small, dark object in his right hand, which is raised towards his head. His left leg is extended outwards, resting on the edge of the barrel. The background is a plain, light-colored surface.

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CRITICS' VOICES

BY TIME'S REVIEWERS. Compiled by Andrea Sachs



ART

LIUBOV POPOVA RETROSPECTIVE. Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Though she died at 35 in 1924, Popova is considered one of the leading artists of the Russian avant-garde. She was a determined painter with a passionate sense of the edge where formal research bursts into sparks and arpeggios of lyric feeling. June 23 through Aug. 18.

PLEASURES OF PARIS FROM DAUMIER TO PICASSO. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Paris in the late 19th century was a Mecca of entertainment, from cafés and cabarets to ballet, opera and theater. This exhibition captures that effervescent era in paintings, prints and drawings by such

artists as Manet, Degas, Toulouse-Lautrec and Cassatt. Through Sept. 1.



BOOKS

THE IRONY TOWER by Andrew Solomon (Knopf; \$25). *Glasnost* brought the best of times and the worst of times to the Soviet Union's avant-garde artists. While giving them new freedoms and access to lucrative Western markets, it has destroyed the sense of community that nurtured their artistic vision and shaped their values. Solomon shares their triumphs and disappointments in this vivid, poignant and often hilarious narrative.

WOODY ALLEN by Eric Lax (Knopf; \$24). Seldom is heard an embarrassing word, but this

biography gets its facts straight and—in something of a literary coup—reaps the benefits of its subject's cooperation. Now if Woody Allen would only consent to tell this story on his own.



THEATER

A DOLL'S HOUSE. Director Ingmar Bergman gives Ibsen's landmark drama of women's liberation a poignancy and tension comparable to the best in his films by trimming the chit-chat and keeping all the clashing characters onstage at all times. The Royal Dramatic Theater of Sweden's production, in Swedish with English translation via headphones, is at the Brooklyn Academy of Music this week only.

THE MOST HAPPY FELLA. A Frank Loesser minifestival seems to be under way with a superb staging of this musical drama about a mail-order bride

at Connecticut's Goodspeed Opera House in East Haddam and another planned at the New York City Opera, and with a revival of his *Gypsies and Dolls* that is scheduled to open on Broadway next spring.

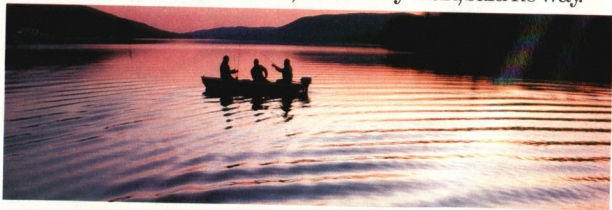


MOVIES

BEGOTTEN. The Authentic Weirdie award goes to this nightmare classic from E. Elias Merhige. In violent chiaroscuro images, the film tells a primal story of man's birth, torture, death and rebirth. This one-of-a-kind movie (you wouldn't want there to be more than one) makes *Eraserhead* seem like *Ernest Saves Christmas*.

WHAT ABOUT BOB? John Candy usually plays the man who came to dinner and stayed too long (and ate too much), but this time Bill Murray is the nerd determined to stick to his psychiatrist like Krazy Glue.

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print quality. It enhances your ideas with graphics and multiple fonts. Fonts that are scalable to 127 points through Windows 3.0 software. But HP doesn't stop there. The DeskJet 500 is backed by a three-year limited warranty. An



Murray and Richard Dreyfuss are terrific in Frank Oz's pretty good comedy of discomfort.



MUSIC

VIOLENT FEMMES: WHY DO BIRDS SING? (Slash/Reprise). Ornerly, typically strange and downright swell. When these three tie into a song like *Life Is a Scream*, they make the inside of your head sing like Janet Leigh in her *Psycho* shower.

BEETHOVEN: THE LATE PIANO SONATAS, VOL. 1 (Dorian Recordings). Sonatas Nos. 28 and especially 29 (the "Hammerklavier") are immense in their emotional range and technical challenges. The contrapuntal writing is Olympian, the fugues exalted. Andrew Rangel possesses the intelligence and dexterity to reckon nobly with these humbling conceptions.

THE FATS WALLER PIANO SOLOS (Bluebird). There has never been a more joyous jazz man than this two-fisted stride pianist, whose artistry is brilliantly captured here.



TELEVISION

THE MAGIC FLUTE (PBS, June 19, 8 p.m. on most stations). Artist David Hockney designed this Metropolitan Opera production of Mozart, starring Kathleen Battle.

WITHOUT WARNING: THE JAMES BRADY STORY (HBO, June 20, 24). Beau Bridges brings grit and not too much sentimentality to the role of President Reagan's former press secretary, who was felled by a bullet meant for the President, and is now the symbolic leader of the nation's gun-control movement. The film's camp highlight, though, is Bryan Clark's hyperkinetic impersonation of Reagan.



ETCETERA

TEXAS FESTIVAL. A Lone Star hoedown at Washington's Kennedy Center, highlighting the

Houston Ballet performing a Paul Taylor boogie set to Andrews Sisters hits. This week only.

NEW YORK CITY BALLET. Peter Martins' *Ash* continues his partnership with composer Michael Torke. Through June 30.

LE SAX HOT

SIDNEY BECHET: THE COMPLETE VICTOR MASTER TAKES (Bluebird). **THE COMPLETE SIDNEY BECHET ON BLUE NOTE** (available from Mosaic, 35 Melrose Place, Stamford, Conn. 06902). Born in New Orleans in 1897, clarinetist and soprano saxophonist Sidney Bechet was one of the most talented and influential jazz musicians who ever blew a horn. As Louis Armstrong did for the trumpet, Bechet turned the soprano sax into a powerful solo voice. If Armstrong went on to achieve greater fame, Bechet had the more interesting life: affairs with Josephine Baker, Bessie Smith and Tallulah Bankhead; deportation from Britain; gunfights in Paris; and finally, ascension to the status of a national hero in France, where he died in 1959. Along the way, the hot-tempered Creole managed to record hundreds of tunes, including such classics as *Summertime*, *Strange Fruit* and *Petite Fleur*. These two digitally remastered sets, both of them copiously documented and illustrated, contain the bulk of his U.S. recorded work.

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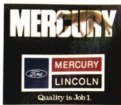


—CAR AND DRIVER, JANUARY 1991



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GRAPEVINE

By DAVID ELLIS/Reported by Linda Williams

WHAT'LL IT COST ME TO BE YOUR FRIEND?

Libyan leader **MUAMMAR GADDAFI**, spooked by Operation Desert Storm and feeling lonely now that Syria has tilted toward the West, however slightly, is trying to end his isolation from the West. The strongman met secretly in Tripoli with Teddy Taylor, a Conservative member of the British Parliament, to talk about re-establishing diplomatic ties that were cut off in 1984, after a London policewoman monitoring an anti-Gaddafi rally was killed by a sniper hidden in the Libyan embassy. Gaddafi apologized and presented Taylor with a \$500,000 check to a British police charity as restitution, but the Libyan was told he will remain a pariah until he publicly renounces the use of terrorism.

HEY, I'VE BEEN THERE, PAL

DAN QUAYLE has found a sympathetic statesman in **HELMUT KOHL**. The stolid German Chancellor knows the sting of scorn because political opponents long portrayed him as a slow-witted bumbler. After the Vice President visited Bonn in early June, Kohl told aides he thought Quayle had an impressive grasp of global issues. The meeting left Kohl wondering why Quayle gets such negative press in the U.S.

AFTER YOU'VE BEAT 'EM—JOIN 'EM

After infiltrating some of America's most sensitive computer banks, is there any challenge left for a digital desperado? Only to go legit, say three former members of the notorious hacker group, the **LEGION OF DOOM**, who have quit the outlaw game to start Comsec Data Security. The Legionnaires claimed an 80% success rate in penetrating computer networks, and now they want to teach private industry to protect itself from the next generation of intruders. "You can't put a price tag on the information we know," says Scott Chasin, a Comsec partner. But they'll try.

MAGIC MOMENTS FROM THE HALL OF SHAME

Corked bats. Rampaging fans. Wife swapping. Not the sort of stuff that's found on baseball **TRADING CARDS**—until now. The new Foul Ball series features some of baseball's most inglorious moments. Among them: slugger Norm Cash's confession that he used doctored bats, the nights on which beer-addled fans in Cleveland and Chicago forced forfeits, and the time when two Yankee pitchers swapped their wives, children and even family dogs.

TALK ABOUT A LONG HAUL

Imagine having to hitch a 3,000-mile ride to your job. That is the plight of **TWA** crew members in Los Angeles who feel stranded by Carl Icahn's decision to sell off the airline's transcontinental routes. Hundreds of Los Angeles-based crews who handle international flights out of New York must sometimes leave a full day early to snare a TWA standby seat. Many employees contend that the commute leaves them too fatigued to do their job, but they see little choice. Why not relocate? "Leave California and move to Queens?" asks an incredulous senior pilot. "You think I'm crazy?" ■



Money can't buy me love

VOX POP

Would it be a good idea for students to attend school year round rather than nine months?

YES 40% NO 54%

From a telephone poll of 1,000 American adults taken by TIME/CNN on June 4-5 by Harrisburg's Cherry Shuttles. Sampling error is plus or minus 2%.



These computer hackers are going legit

Lost in the Jungle

What's the message in *Jungle Fever*, director Spike Lee's new film about an interracial love affair? Not even the film's main players can agree:

Lonette McKee (who portrays the betrayed wife): "The message is, you've got to follow your heart and do what you want to do in love."

Spike Lee: "A lot of these relationships aren't based on love, but on sexual myths—that the white woman is the epitome of beauty and that black males are sexual supermen."

Annabella Sciorra (Angie, the white mistress): "My character just happens to meet a black man. I don't think she goes out with him because he's black."

Wesley Snipes (Flipper, the black architect): "I think it's about how color-conscious this society really is."



TIME/JUNE 24, 1991

HUGH SIDNEY'S AMERICA

Sad Song Of the Delta

In a tormented corner of Mississippi, the soil is rich and the people are poor, but the blues aren't as blue as they used to be

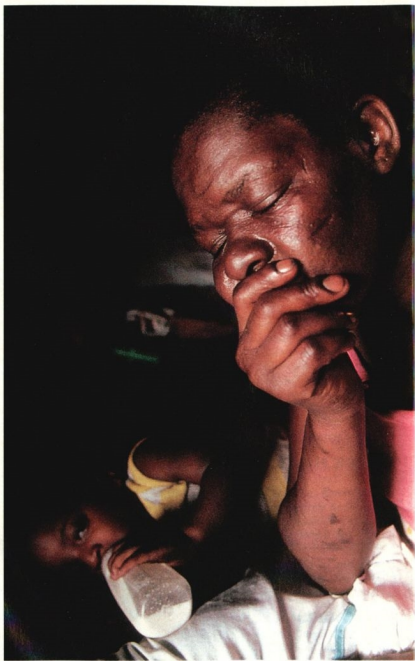
Aron Henry recalls the days when Bobby Kennedy and Hubert Humphrey were on the line, calling from Washington to his tiny Fourth Street Drugstore in Clarksdale to give heart to the movement. Foot soldiers in the bloody civil rights wars crowded the store's narrow aisles in those days, desperation and what sometimes seemed like misplaced hope overcoming their justified fears. Now, in the soft afternoon shadow, the phone is silent, and there is only one visitor, come to ask how things have changed.

Henry, a thickset man of 68, has been head of the state chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People since the civil rights movement was at its peak. Mississippi's Delta was one of its deadliest battlegrounds, a crescent of tormented land between Memphis and Vicksburg, hemmed by the Mississippi and Yazoo rivers, the poorest and blackest part of this country. A generation ago, some of the most oppressed blacks in the most harshly segregated state in the U.S. rose to claim their share of America's

dream, and some whites did their violent worst to stop them. Television beamed the story to the world, and the nation's shame and anger forced the politicians in Washington to act. The result was new laws guaranteeing the civil rights of all citizens, regardless of their color.

Henry's eyes blaze with the memories of the human cost of that victory. Because 14-year-old Emmett Till, down from Chicago to visit relatives, allegedly whistled at a white woman, he was beaten, shot and

then thrown into the Tallahatchie River in 1955. An all-white jury acquitted two white men of the killing. In 1963 Henry's N.A.A.C.P. associate, Medgar Evers, was gunned down in the driveway of his home in Jackson. His accused murderer, Byron de la Beckwith, was freed when all-white juries failed to reach a verdict. Now the state, seeking to atone for old wrongs, is trying to extradite him from Tennessee to try him again for the killing. Henry himself was arrested several times for his civil





Greenville: the Good Life

The myth that the Delta was a social capital of the pre-Civil War South is mostly nostalgic fiction. But at debutante receptions like this one, little girls can still dream of making a splash in high society.

Tunica: Lives Defined by Misery

The problems facing impoverished blacks are so basic that they seem out of place in America. Earline Grayer wants to move her nine children and grandchildren from a crumbling three-room shack to subsidized housing. Says she: "No one helps me."

rights activities, and was once chained and shackled to a garbage truck to keep him from escaping. He glances up at the piece of tin that covers the hole in the ceiling where a bomb was thrown in 1964. All that is dim history now to most of the world.

But not to Henry.

He picks up the Jackson *Clarion-Ledger*, which used to trumpet the segregationist line but today champions racial harmony, and reads slowly out loud about George Bush's threatened veto of the new

civil rights bill and about a school-board vote in Jackson along racial lines. "The battle of human rights and race relations is over," he says, "but while most people don't express overt racism, their actions manifest a prejudice. We've got to persevere."

Henry has just come out of a fierce re-districting battle in the state legislature, of which he has been a member since 1980. There are daily confrontations over housing, jobs and always the budget. But such battles now go unnoticed outside Missis-

sippi and the Delta. "The spotlight is harder to focus here," he admits, and in that statement he may have defined the movement's great success. Now that the issue of legal equality has been laid to rest, blacks and whites in the Delta often stand together against outside forces, not each other. The war is economic and social and without shotgun blasts in the night. Still, it is wearying and hard. How long has Henry been battling? How long will he go on? He looks off into the distance and says quietly,



Arcola: King Cotton

Billy Percy used to employ 400 sharecroppers on his 5,000-acre farm. Now the same work can be done by 10 full-time workers and huge machines.

Drew: Watery Harvest

Entrepreneurs like Ed Scott have turned catfish farming into a big business—one that just might replace cotton as the Delta's leading crop.



"Forever." In the sanctuary of his little store, that sounds like a psalm.

Whether we are fully aware of it or not, the nation is still searching for its soul in Mississippi's Delta. Thirty years ago, blacks risked their lives if they tried to vote. Today there are 28 black mayors in the Delta, an area about 200 miles top to bottom and 85 miles at its greatest width, with 340,000 people, 55% black. There are black sheriffs, police chiefs, city-council and county-board majorities. Just across the tracks from Henry's store is the office of Henry Espy, black mayor of Clarksdale, at 20,000 the upper Delta's largest city. "I am convinced the South is the promised land," says the tall, energetic Espy, cutting patterns in the air with powerful hands. "Blacks turned to the North and West for promises that were largely unfulfilled. They are coming home." The mayor's brother, Mike Espy, is Congressman for 22 counties in the heart of the Delta. He was elected in 1986—over Webb Franklin, a white lawyer—with the support of only 15% of the white voters. Last year he got 70% of the white vote.

The success of the Espys and other middle-class blacks is a fragile thing. Welfare payments are the largest source of income in rural areas, greater than King Cotton. The Third World poverty in towns like Tunica (23.5% unemployment) and Jonestown (pop. 1,400, of whom 1,300 are black) is a reminder that civil rights laws alone cannot guarantee opportunity.

In places like these the problems are so basic they seem anachronistic: plumbing, paving and food. Jonestown's energetic Mayor Bobbi Walker is scrounging for \$3,000 in private money so the Habitat people will come in and help replace 30 dilapidated shacks. Cotton planting and ginning take only about six months of each year, and there is no other work for the Jonestown families. Yet Mayor Walker and her small cluster plod on. A sewer system will be completed in a few weeks. Running water is now in most homes. She's working to get hot water to every family. There will soon be a tiny health clinic visited by a doctor and two nurses. "We've got to get jobs, we've got to get industry interested in coming, we've got to do it ourselves," she says.

Bobbi Walker is running on spirit, because the statistics are still arrayed against the Delta. John Emmerich, editor and publisher of the Greenwood *Commonwealth*, knows the depressing numbers and says, "I do not think this area has the capability of righting what is wrong on its own. We have the highest rate of everything bad, like teen pregnancy, and the lowest rate of everything good, like income. There is too much poverty, too few jobs, too little edu-

Percy, the public schools are 95% black. Writer Bern Keating, once jailed as a civil rights activist, is worried that all the forces now altering the Delta—the return of blacks from the decay and danger in Chicago and Detroit, the migration of families from small towns and farms to Greenville, the general economic stagnation—will produce "a rural inner city of 50,000."

But there is a strange magic in this anguished American corner that may confound the statisticians. The rich history of the Delta has played out on a landscape almost devoid of natural grandeur, apart from the Mississippi River. Even Mark Twain's "chocolate tide" has been corseted with levees, and for the most part lies out of sight and out of many minds. The rich alluvial soil, deposited when the gorged rivers were allowed to burst their banks and leave behind their silt, stretches flat and monotonous, the streams muddy and sluggish. Those planters without mountains or oceans or majesty of any kind made monuments out of their families, friends, parties and hunting clubs.

Myth asserts, with more nostalgia than truth, that before the Civil War, the Delta was a social capital of the South. "The idea that the Delta was a place of antebellum white-columned mansions and women in crinoline skirts—lies, all lies," snorts historian and author Shelby Foote, who grew up in Greenville and lives and writes in Memphis, at the region's northern tip. "The houses were not well furnished or very comfortable."

In fact, the Delta is not even the Old South. It was not until about 1840 that some flinty cotton planters from the Southeast, having

sucked the life out of their land, discovered the wealth of the soil in the riverside wilderness of hardwood trees, panthers, snakes and fever. The planters brought their slaves to uproot the stumps and tend the cotton. Outnumbered dozens to one by their human chattel, the planters installed a brand of servitude so brutal that slaves considered being sent to a plantation "downriver" in the Delta a far worse fate than death.

William Faulkner wrote that the Delta was "deswamped and denuded, and delivered in two generations." Some planters made money, but not nearly as much as legend would have it. There was always another



Indianola: Gone Fishin'

To compensate for the drabness of a landscape devoid of natural grandeur, affluent whites have tended to make monuments of their past history, their families and friends, their parties and hunting clubs.

cation." Poverty breeds more poverty, because it discourages new investments. "Industry does not want to come into a town 60% black, with crime, broken homes, low skills," says Emmerich. "In some of those areas, 60% of the children are born out of wedlock; 95% of them are black."

After the schools were desegregated, whites deserted the public school system and set up their private academies; so far, they have not returned in significant numbers. In Greenville (pop. 45,000), long judged a redoubt of tolerance led by such people as editor Hodding Carter and lawyer-planter-writer William Alexander

Nation

er enemy. Land was the staple, usually mortgaged. Nature provided floods, droughts and plant diseases. Bourbon eased some of the pain but brought on its own. The Delta became a place of wild contrast: the lowest poverty and humility alongside the highest pretension and arrogance.

The Civil War ended slavery, but its aftermath produced sharecropping, a form of exploitation almost as severe. And the Delta was battered by all the economic swings of farms, its routines upset by advancing technology. When the sharecroppers were replaced by mechanical cotton pickers and tractors after 1940, the Delta blacks joined the 5 million Southern rural blacks who fled to the cities of the South, West and North, bringing to urban culture their broken hearts in a tragic search for a fragment of dignity and security. That migration, one of the largest such internal movements of people in history, transformed America. The blacks who stayed behind suffered from abject poverty and near starvation. When Bobby Kennedy visited the Delta in the spring of 1967, he was shocked by the conditions. "My God," he said, "I didn't know this kind of thing existed. How can a country like this allow it?"

Adversity had another side. A kind of genius was nurtured in the Delta at both ends of the human scale. Writers abounded, penning stories of depravity and abuse, but of beauty and decency too: Faulkner, Foote, Tennessee Williams, Eudora Welty, William and Walker Percy, Willie Morris.

The Delta also yielded a great harvest of blues singers, spawned in the sorrow of the sharecroppers' shotgun shacks (so called because the rooms are one behind the other, allowing a shot fired through the front door to sail straight out the back door—unless something gets in the way). Robert Johnson, B.B. King, Muddy Waters, Howlin' Wolf, James ("Son") Thomas—most of modern American music has its roots in the Delta. Big Jack ("the Oil Man") Johnson plays there now, one of many with more coming on, including his nephew, James ("Super Chicken") Johnson.

James Cobb of the University of Tennessee has studied the culture and eco-

nomics of the Delta as much as anyone. He summarizes the melancholy story of the area as "a scary and fascinating pursuit of the American Dream" by a small group of bright, tough people who, unrestrained by conscience or government, ruthlessly exploited other people and resources even as they cloaked themselves in courtliness. Cobb has documented the manipulation of the modern political system by the likes of the late Senator James Eastland, who poured millions of tax dollars into the pockets of the planters and let the little fellows go begging. Cobb believes the way the Delta goes will give us a clue on whether the rest of the U.S.—and, indeed, the world—can successfully deal with minority and Third World problems.

The days of reckoning are upon the Delta. A lot of the old family landowners have sold out to corporate interests. The Prudential Insurance Co. is one of the huge Delta operators. Low prices for cotton, soybeans and rice and climbing production costs have squeezed farmers. "No-

body in the Delta is worth more than \$10 million," says Billy Percy, one of an enlightened family of statesmen, writers and planters. "Maybe one," he corrects. "He made it in Holiday Inns. I used to be able to have four bad crop years before I would be in financial trouble. Now if I have two bad crops, I'm in trouble."

As those at the top have been burdened and forced down, those at the bottom have been raised a bit. Uless Carter, 75, one of the people in *The Promised Land*, Nicholas Lemann's chronicle of the black migration, is back in Clarksdale, living in a retirement community. He spent 38 years in Chicago, an additional six in Flint, Mich. The stories of change lured him home. "There are black people working in the banks and stores now," he says. "They treat you now like a human being. It is wonderful. My prayers have been answered." So little asked, so little yet received.

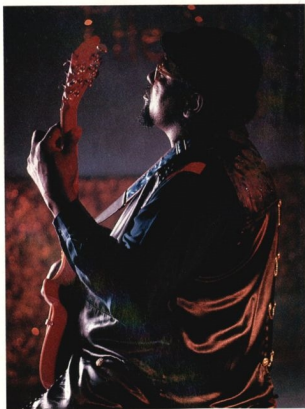
Last week the Delta was drying out after the wettest April and May on record. The giant Deere tractors with their 12-row

cultivators left tails of dust as they stirred the baking fields. Ed Scott of Minter City was up at 5 a.m. to tend his eight catfish ponds. If all goes well, the black entrepreneur this year will sell nearly half a million pounds of catfish, the Delta's second biggest crop after cotton. In Arcola, Billy Percy was in a battered pickup as crop dusters in their yellow Air Tractors swooped around him, spraying rice and cotton against unremitting weevils and thrips. As he watched he talked about two blacks being taken in as members of the Greenville Country Club in the past six months without a ripple. He told with enthusiasm about a new Foundation of the Mid South, which is going to use private funds to help the Delta schools look for a way up.

But if top and bottom are homogenized, will the Delta lose its special fervor? Maybe. Maybe not. On the edge of Clarksdale, bluesman Johnson told of his days learning music from his sharecropper father. "Folks ain't so bad off now," he said. "It ain't as low down as it used to be. Blues ain't as sad." Then the Oil Man lifted his head and sang a few lines—about the Persian Gulf war. ■

Clarksdale: Beat of the Blues

The Delta's misery spawned the mournful songs that shaped modern American music. Big Jack Johnson keeps the tradition alive with themes as up-to-date as the war in the Persian Gulf.





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HONDA



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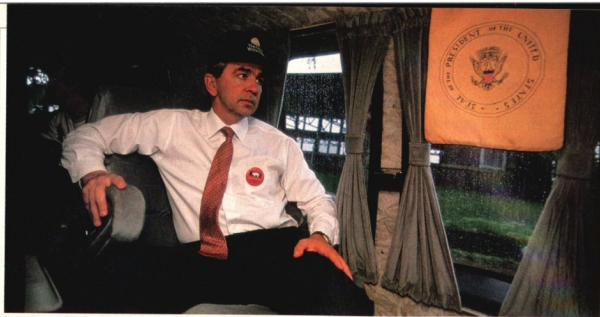
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Beneath a mushy exterior, the candidate is highly opinionated and tough as nails: Tsongas touring Iowa in his campaign van

By ROBERT AJEMIAN BOSTON

THE DEMOCRATS

Paul Tsongas has a sad, hurt look. On the podium he is a limp performer who often slurs and swallows his words. Afterward he has to brace himself for insinuating questions about another Greek politician from Massachusetts, the tattered Michael Dukakis. On top of all that, Tsongas must assure voters he has really licked the cancer that led him to retire from the U.S. Senate seven years ago. Why on earth is this man running for President?

All his political life, Tsongas, now 50, has taken people by surprise. He is an odd politician. On the surface he is almost mushy. He rarely loses his temper or even raises his voice. So it is something of a shock to discover that underneath, Tsongas (pronounced song-us) is highly opinionated and hard as nails. What you see is not what you get.

In 1978 he dared to challenge Edward Brooke, the country's only black Senator, and beat him. Two years later, he flabbergasted the ultra-liberal Americans for Democratic Action by telling the organization its brand of liberalism was dead. In 1984 he suddenly walked away from the Senate. He wanted to be home with his family while undergoing cancer treatment. Two months ago, Tsongas sprang yet another shock. Out of the blue, he became the first—and so far only—Democrat to declare for President. Right in character, he announced his candidacy at the height of George Bush's popularity.

His goal is to sound an emergency alarm. America is sinking into economic peril, warns Tsongas. In the new ruthless international marketplace, American

It's Tsongas —With a T

Why is an obscure ex-Senator from Massachusetts risking ridicule by running for President? Because he thinks he's an economic Paul Revere.

products are not selling. The country's manufacturing base is shot, jobs are disappearing by the thousands, our standard of living is eroding. The result: the very fabric of America's social order is under threat. "The larger dangers are here, not in Iraq," says the candidate.

Calling himself the economic Paul Revere, Tsongas says American business must be better nurtured, workers must be better trained, companies must be urged to think of long-term development rather than quick profits. Furthermore, Tsongas charges, the Republican mania for free markets is dangerously out of date. Today foreign governments keenly nourish their own private industries. "American companies," says Tsongas, "need the U.S. government as a full partner."

Tsongas is even harder on his own party. Americans simply do not trust Democrats to run the economy, he declares. "For Democrats to insist that they are pro-jobs and also antibusiness is obsolete," the candidate repeats at every stop. His solution: Democrats must stop bashing business.

Says Tsongas: "Democrats have been famous for dividing the pie fairly. Now there's no pie left. So Democrats must learn how to produce wealth." Businessmen, he tells his listeners, badly need a capital-gains-tax reduction, tax credits for new investments, the elimination of quarterly reports that encourage short-term thinking. Last winter Tsongas spent two months writing an encyclopedia, 85-page treatise that is the core of his campaign. The title of his book: *A Call to Economic Arms*.

Supply-siders excluded, many economists applaud the

Tsongas message, though some fear he is kindling economic nationalism. A number of union leaders consider Tsongas a turncoat, even though his voting record over the years has been prolabor. Democratic elders are warily assessing public reaction. Potential presidential candidates, such as Iowa Senator Tom Harkin, are already sniping at Tsongas. Instead of more tax breaks for greedy businessmen, they complain, why not more of them for the middle class? Tsongas labels such criticism myopic. Only business can bake a bigger pie.

Audiences in Iowa, where the first nominating caucuses will take place next February, have rarely heard a Democratic candidate utter such heretical words. Many bob their heads in approval. If Tsongas seems bland, his words are not. Ten years ago, he explains, he made similar speeches but no one listened. "There are moments in history when ideas catch fire," Tsongas says. "Back then I lit a match and nothing happened. Now gasoline is all over the floor." His own liberal voting record takes much of the sting out of the blunt talk.

You're driving by that
like you do every day,
asks you what they
answer that you're not
occurs to you that you



It also occurs to you that you don't have the foggiest idea how to go about finding out.

Well, we can't say we blame you. Over the years, our industry hasn't exactly been noted

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But recently, the member companies of the Chemical Manufacturers Association have

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We're opening the lines of communication in other ways. In some cases, quite literally. Call 1-800-624-4321* and we'll tell you

**chemical plant, just
when one of your kids
make in there and you
really sure and it
probably should be.**

taken some crucial steps towards changing that. Through an effort called Responsible Care.®

Many of us, for example, are now regularly holding community meetings. Which give the people who live near our plants an opportunity to tell us about their fears and concerns. And to ask questions of the people who actually run the plant, day in and day out.

Others are offering tours to anyone inter-

how you can find out what your local chemical company is making. We'll also send you our **Responsible Care® Brochure**, which details other ways we're working to keep you informed.

So that the next time you're driving by that chemical plant, like you do every day, and one of your kids asks you what they make in there, you can tell him.

*8 a.m. to 7 p.m. EDT

**The Chemical
Manufacturers Association.**

We want you to know.

Aloof and sometimes quirky, Tsongas is a man who wastes scant time on political heartiness. "He gives little feedback," says one of his top aides. Escaping political orthodoxy appeals to him. The higher a person's standing, staff members say, the more likely Tsongas is to ignore him. He is incapable of rudeness, but there are glints of social defiance in his nature. In nine years in Washington, Tsongas says, he never held a dinner party. The Senator needs few people aside from his wife, Niki, and three daughters, Ashley, 17, Katina, 13, and Molly, 9. He is fanatically devoted to his family. "Otherwise," says a longtime member of his staff, "it's almost like he exists alone."

There is a moralistic streak in Tsongas. His speeches are apt to include denunciations against those "who ought to be ashamed of themselves." In conversation, his comments, no matter how calmly uttered, can have a know-it-all ring. He is sometimes referred to behind his back as St. Paul. Still, he does not close off argument and is willing to change his mind. Unlike most Democrats, he supports nuclear power. His conversion occurred after experts convinced him of the lasting, dire effects of oil and coal on the environment.

Tsongas and Dukakis keep a friendly distance. After Dukakis appointed him chairman of the state board of regents, Tsongas publicly criticized the Governor's education cuts. Dukakis was startled. The two men are mostly unlike. Tsongas has an easy sense of humor and is far less stiff around people. His ready quips are regularly turned on himself. Often he tells audiences he is thinking of becoming a Swede. Tsongas rarely holds grudges. When staffers urge him to retaliate against renegades, he usually waves them off.

How the man from Lowell picked up such vast self-confidence is a mystery he is at a loss to explain. His youth, Tsongas remembers, was mostly not a happy one. He never knew his mother, who suffered from tuberculosis and lived in a sanatorium. One day young Paul, age 4, was driven to see her. A ghostly figure, Katina Tsongas, gazed down from an upstairs window and waved to her son. He never saw her again. She died when Paul and his twin sister, Thaleia, were seven. A grandmother, whom the children soon called Ma, took her place.

Thin and small, socially unsure, the young Tsongas spent most of his free hours toiling in his father's dry cleaning store. There he bent wire into countless coat hangers and served behind the counter. "Paul was introverted," Thaleia recalls. "His identity comes from within himself."

At Dartmouth College, his narrow life continued. "I wasn't up to joining a fraternity," he recalls. Instead he fixed his mind on an impossible goal: he would win a

One September morning in 1983, his life stopped in its tracks. Showering, Tsongas discovered a lump in his groin. It was diagnosed as lymphoma. Even though that kind of cancer usually responds to treatment, he left the Senate.

swimming letter. Tsongas practiced manically. His senior year he got a varsity letter. It was his first real success.

After graduation in 1962, Tsongas joined the Peace Corps and spent two years in an Ethiopian village. The experience, he says, was the most compelling of his life. "For the first time ever," says Tsongas, "people liked me." He taught at a rural school, helped students build a dormitory, raced his horse on the village's main street. Then at Yale Law School, Tsongas remembers, he was miserable all over again. The change from village life to law libraries somehow depressed him. The Yale years, Tsongas says, were the unhappiest period of his life.

He returned home to Lowell, its red brick textile mills having long ago deteriorated, to practice law. In 1969 he ran for the city council and won. Elected as a reformer, he began to show a more forceful side. Soon he was bucking the city's seedy political hierarchy, whose members openly ridiculed him. Tsongas discovered the abuse did not intimidate him. Gradually he won respect. Elected to Congress, he helped secure large sums of government money that spurred Lowell's dramatic revival.

He jostled some. Former city manager Bill Taupier remembers the Senator sticking his nose into everything. "Things had to be his way," says Taupier. But by then little could dim the Tsongas luster. He was riding high. In Washington he was a member of the Senate's prestigious Foreign Relations Committee. In Lowell he was the city's first citizen.

One September morning in 1983, his life stopped in its tracks. Showering, Tsongas discovered a lump in his groin. It was diagnosed as lymphoma. Even though that kind of cancer is normally responsive to treatment, Tsongas decided to leave the Senate.

In 1986 his doctor, Tak Takvorian, proposed a radical new bone-marrow transplant. Five percent of his bone marrow was withdrawn by needle, purged of cancer

cells and frozen. Tsongas remembers the day his doctor appeared holding the good marrow in a test tube. There was his life, Tsongas thought, pressed into a tube. What if the doctor dropped it? The cleansed marrow was reintroduced into his body. In an isolated room at the Dana-Farber Cancer Institute in Boston, Tsongas waited six weeks for the result. The transplant worked.

Today Tsongas measures time from that September morning in the shower. The first day of each month he enters the elapsed time into his calendar. This June he reached 2,804 days. Doctors say there is little likelihood the cancer will return. Politically, the issue is far from settled.

Free of cancer, his economic themes set into a book, Tsongas gathered his family in the early part of the year and told them he wanted to run. No other Democrat, he was convinced, would risk the unpopular economic argument that had to be made. But if a single member of his family objected, Tsongas would drop the idea. His wife, a vibrant woman with a law practice of her own, urged him to do it. She would help. His daughters agreed.

Now Tsongas sits on the long wooden porch of his Victorian house in Lowell. At ease in a red sports shirt and running shoes, he seems oddly disengaged from his enormous undertaking. His mind turns to the campaign. "Where are the rest of them?" he asks about rival Democratic candidates. "Here I am, a has-been, all alone." Public argument will help him become better known. What about the lack of political flair? Tsongas is asked. "I have obvious problems," he says. But Tsongas does not invest much concern in the dynamics of leadership. He believes politics is driven by ideas, not style. Nor do the organizational needs of a campaign hold his interest. Tsongas delegates broadly. With a certain satisfaction, he says he doesn't even know the people who are running his state campaigns in California or Iowa.

It is late at night, and Tsongas sits alone in his living room. His golden retriever, Martha, is asleep by the front door. Tsongas is asked if he thinks much about actually being President. He answers yes, he has even thought about a Vice President and certain Cabinet members. Then Tsongas stops and makes a point. "I'm not running to be President," he says of his quest. "I'm running to spread this message."

It is a curious distinction. Somehow Tsongas has managed to disconnect ambitions that have always seemed inseparable. For the moment, the message is what really matters. Either his ideas are vital to the country, Tsongas says, or he will go down in flames. Until that becomes clearer, he will stay resolved. "I must not do what Democrats usually do," he says, "and bend to special interests. I am the message. If I bend, I have no message." ■



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MUTUAL OF NEW YORK MONEY FOR LIFE

POLITICAL SOAP OPERA

Virginia's Demolition Derby

In a row over a secret tape, Robb and Wilder cloud their own futures and anger fellow Democrats

By LAURENCE I. BARRETT WASHINGTON

Why on earth were Virginia's two premier Democrats squaring off like rival schoolyard bullies? For one thing, Senator Charles Robb and Governor Douglas Wilder had resumed their battle for primacy in the political playground. But in creating what Robb called a "demolition derby," they also damaged their own futures and hurt their party on the eve of state legislative elections. And as leaders with reputations beyond Virginia, they embarrassed their already demoralized national party.

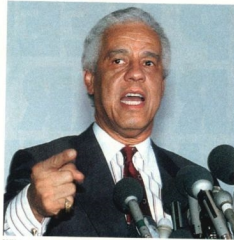
The latest feud between Robb and Wilder had its origin in a secret tape—ostensibly sent to Robb by an anonymous donor—of an intercepted cellular-phone conversation between Wilder and an ally. When Wilder denounced the eavesdropping caper, a transcript of the tape appeared in two newspapers. Robb responded by suspending three aides, pledging an investigation of his office and pleading for peace talks with Wilder.

Doubtless one reason for Robb's consternation is that some of his advisers had considered the tape a potential weapon against Wilder. Instead it became a boomerang. The conversation was intercepted in October 1988, while Wilder was still lieutenant governor and Robb was running for the Senate. Though allied in most campaigns, the two had also skirmished for years. In the taped conversation, Wilder pronounced Robb "finished" because of reports of his presence at cocaine parties in Virginia Beach. Talking about his own 1989 race for Governor, Wilder said, "I don't want his endorsement, not need his endorsement."

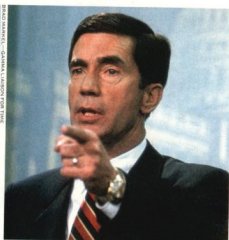
Wrong on both counts. Robb won easily, and Wilder, ever flexible, used the new Senator's warm words of support in a campaign commercial. Meanwhile, the unsolicited tape showed up at Robb's office. Both federal and Virginia statutes prohibit covert intercepts as well as dissemination of their contents. Robb said he viewed the tape as "political gossip" rather than a legal land mine. In any event, he said, he had ordered the contents kept secret.

But in April a new flash point arose be-

tween Robb and Wilder. As NBC prepared a flimsy documentary on Robb's private behavior, including an alleged dalliance with a former Miss Virginia beauty queen, the Robb camp accused Wilder's crew of complicity in the muckraking. The apparent strategy was to paint the exposé as resulting from a political vendetta. According to two sources familiar with the episode, two Robb associates—his press secretary, Steven Johnson, and the political director of Robb's Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, Robert Wat-



Wilder: He showed his rough edge



Robb: His potential weapon backfired

son—briefed a Washington Post reporter on the tape's contents about two months ago. But the ground rules prohibited the paper's direct use of the information at that time.

What happened next is still unclear, but Robb's people became uneasy about having the tape and destroyed it. A transcript survived, however, as did at least one other copy of the tape made by the original eavesdropper. The Richmond gossip circuit became aware of the material, causing Wilder, while on a trip to Europe, to break the story in a phone interview with the Post. It was a shrewd ploy by the Governor, moving attention from the content of the tape to Robb's possession of it and portraying Wilder as the "victim" of a crime.

Johnson considered resigning over the incident but was persuaded instead to accept a suspension with pay. Watson and Robb's chief of staff, David McCloud, also went on paid leave. Meanwhile, Robb searched for a lawyer to probe the affair.

If Robb thought his do-it-yourself inves-

tigation would deflect heat, he was mistaken. State attorney general Mary Sue Terry, though a Robb ally, asked both the FBI and the Virginia state police to enter the case. Richmond Republicans quickly joined the fray. G.O.P. staffer Steve Haner announced that in 1989 Watson had used the threat of another taped phone conversation to make him admit that fellow Republicans were paying for a private detective to check out Robb's R. and R. at Virginia Beach. Then the state Republican Party asked for an expanded inquiry into suspected political espionage by Democrats during the 1985 gubernatorial election.

While the battle still had several rounds to go, Wilder was beating Robb on points. Once considered a possible presidential candidate and unbeatable for re-election to the Senate, Robb must now worry about survival in Virginia. "He's sinking faster

than Saddam Hussein's navy," says political scientist Robert Holsworth of Virginia Commonwealth University.

A few of Wilder's handlers imagine that Robb might be pushed aside, creating a Senate vacancy the Governor could fill when he leaves the statehouse. Of course they only view that as a contingency plan in case Wilder's flirtation with presidential politics fizzles. But while the Governor's tactical skill was on display as he kept Robb on the defensive, so was his grating rough edge. And so was the rancor that was manifest in the taped conversation, which hardly spoke well of his party loyalty.

Wilder initially deflected pleas from other Democrats for a truce, saying that Robb was doing all the feuding, but finally offered to meet with Robb this week. The two have had peace parleys before, resulting only in temporary truces. In the current tense climate, a tape recording of their conversation would make fascinating listening.

—With reporting by Don Winbush/
Richmond

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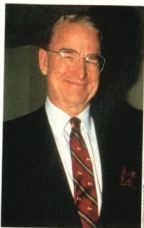
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AMERICAN NOTES



Bush: Why is this man smiling?

THE WHITE HOUSE

My Brother, The Middleman

The *yakuza* is Japan's version of the Mafia, a shadowy mob brotherhood that often operates behind a shield of what appears to be legitimate business fronts. According to Japanese press reports, one such business is West Tsusho, a Tokyo-based real estate firm that has bought into two American companies with the help of an unusually well-placed U.S. middleman: Prescott Bush Jr., 68, the President's elder brother.

Japanese police have been investigating West Tsusho, which press reports say is an arm of a company controlled by Sumi Ishii, onetime head of Japan's second largest crime syndicate. Documents filed with the Securities and Exchange Commission show that Bush helped West Tsusho invest heavily in two American firms: Quantum Access, a Houston-based software company, and Asset Management International Financing & Settlement, a New York City-based firm.

In return for his services in the Asset Management deal, Bush reportedly received a finder's fee of \$250,000 as well as the promise of \$250,000 a year for three years in consulting fees. As West Tsusho's criminal connections only recently came to light, Bush is unlikely to have known he was fronting for the mob.

THE HOMELESS

Out of Sight, Out of Mind

Atlanta is promoting itself as the vanguard of the New South and the site of the 1996 Summer Olympics. One flaw in its progressive image, however, is the thousands of homeless beggars in its downtown area. Last week Mayor Maynard Jackson proposed an ordinance to ban aggressive panhandling, sleeping in vacant buildings and hanging out in parking lots. Violators could get 60 days in prison, a \$1,000 fine, or both.

Critics blasted the measure as an attempt to "sanitize" Atlanta's downtown for the benefit of business and in anticipation of the Olympics. "We



Endangered species: a panhandler at work in downtown Atlanta

believe this law will be selectively enforced to restrict certain people's movements, and we will fight it," said Anita Beaty, co-director of the Task Force

for the Homeless. But police chief Eldrin Bell argued that the ordinance would, in fact, protect the homeless from criminals.

VETERANS AFFAIRS

Doing the Right Thing

In an experiment more worthy of the Third Reich than the Pentagon, the U.S. Navy between 1943 and 1946 secretly exposed 1,700 men to mustard gas and other chemical-warfare agents to test the effectiveness of protective clothing. Years later, when some of the human guinea pigs began to suffer from serious ailments, the Veterans Administration turned down their disability claims on the ground that they could not

prove their conditions were service related.

Last week, under pressure from Congress, the Department of Veterans Affairs conceded that exposure to mustard gas could indeed cause bronchial and lung disorders as well as chronic conjunctivitis and corneal opacities. Officials encouraged veterans involved in the experiments who suffer from such illnesses to contact the nearest regional office, after which the V.A. will belatedly do the right thing by offering them compensatory payments of up to \$1,620 a month.



Five decades later, gassed vets can claim disability

GUN CONTROL

True or False: This Is a Test?

After Detroit passed a city ordinance last year requiring handgun purchasers to take a four-hour, \$60 safety course, the number of new permits issued dropped by almost half. Gun enthusiasts demanded an easier procedure, and that's just what they got.

Today anyone in Michigan who wants to buy a handgun must take a 10-item true-or-false test, responding to such propositions as "You should treat every pistol as if it were loaded" and "You should always keep the barrel of a pistol pointed in a safe direction." Just in case the questions are too tough, the answers are all "true" and are printed on the back.

"Pretending to have a test is worse than having no test at all," says Bernie Horn, director of state legislation for Handgun Control, Inc. "You have to do more to get a driver's license." But Kevin Frailey, a member of the Basic Pistol Safety Review Board, says, "It wasn't supposed to stop a person from purchasing a firearm." On the contrary: in April and May alone, Detroit issued 530 handgun permits. In all of 1990 it gave out 1,908.

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These electronic wizards monitor a dozen different car and atmospheric conditions to perform quick, smooth shifts with maximum efficiency and utmost reliability—whether you're driving up snow-packed peaks or

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A SURE START

The first sign of quality is a sure start. As thousands of tests have proved, our starting power is 99.9% sure every time you turn the key on your new GM car.

So it doesn't matter if you're in Maine or Mexico, in January or June, your new GM car or truck will start.

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We design and test brakes to high standards for lining wear and fade-resistance.

As a result, owners of 1991 GM cars report fewer problems with their brakes than owners of Ford, Chrysler, Nissan, Mazda or Volvo.¹

And GM offers more cars and trucks with anti-lock brakes as standard equipment than any other manufacturer in the world.

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Today, GM offers an Anti-lock Braking System on all new pickups. In panic stops, this patented GM system modulates the braking action to stop you faster and help prevent your pickup from skidding out of control—even when unloaded.

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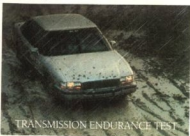
- 1 1991 GM Customer Satisfaction Survey
- 2 Based on Mobile Exhaust Emissions Standards for passenger vehicles.
- 3 Based on National Automotive Research Black Book for ten most recent available calendar years.

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Chevrolet Pontiac Oldsmobile
Buick Cadillac GMC Truck



TRANSMISSION ENDURANCE TEST

SOVIET UNION

Boris Looks Westward

As Yeltsin arrives in the U.S., his landslide win creates a dilemma: How to deal with him and other leaders who want to bypass Gorbachev?

By GEORGE J. CHURCH

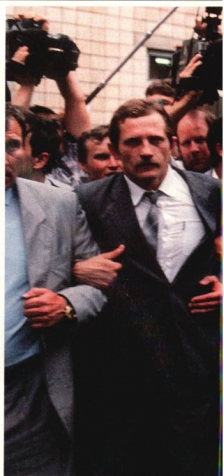
He did not say "Read my lips." In fact, his wording was rather pedestrian. But the substance of Boris Yeltsin's campaign promise was quite as bold, and may be every bit as difficult to fulfill, as George Bush's 1988 vow not to raise taxes. Under his "program of immediate economic stabilization" for the Russian Federation, said Yeltsin, "there will be the beginning of an improvement in living standards toward the end of 1992." In other words, he would not just stop but reverse the calamitous economic plunge that is the legacy of more than 70 years of communist mismanagement. And he would do it in only a year and a half. And while the main levers of economic power—to the extent that there are any left in the chaotic production-and-distribution system—are not in his hands but in those of Mikhail Gorbachev.

The impetuous optimism, however, was quintessential Yeltsin, and it has helped make him the first popularly elected head of government in Russia's 1,000-year history. The eventual outcome of last week's presidential election was never in doubt, but there was some question whether Yeltsin would win the 50%-plus majority—against five other candidates—necessary to avoid a runoff. Those doubts dissolved almost as soon as voters began entering polling places stretching across the Russian republic's eleven time zones.

Though the official count of more than 70 million mostly paper ballots will not be announced until late this week, informal tallies indicated he had won in a landslide with about 60% of the vote.

So now Yeltsin will have to produce results rather than just carp about the Kremlin. The future of nascent democracy not only in Russia but in many of the other 14 Soviet republics may ride on his success. His demonstrated popularity may boost his chances of negotiating with the Kremlin and the other republics a new union treaty that would give his government greater autonomy. That in turn might increase Yeltsin's ability to actually create the private-property, free-market economy he envisions, and to strip away most of the authority still exercised by Communist Party bureaucrats. Even then, however, Yeltsin will have to stop relying entirely on his personal popularity and begin building a genuine political movement and an efficient bureaucracy of his own.

But before even beginning to tackle those problems, Yeltsin prepared for a visit to the U.S. that underscored his growing clout. He was initially invited by congressional leaders, but once the election returns were in, President Bush lost no time asking Yeltsin to drop by the White House also as long as he was in town. They plan to chat in the Oval Office this Thursday. Simultaneously, some Administration officials began hinting that Bush's twice-postponed summit with Gorbachev may be



held off until fall, though others continued to say late July. The hang-up is lack of progress on a nuclear arms-reduction treaty that Bush has identified as a precondition for the summit.

Coincidental or not, the timing symbolized a foreign policy conundrum. Eager to prop up Gorbachev, the Bush Administration previously had pretty much ignored Yeltsin. Now, the U.S. and other Western powers can no longer put off cultivating contacts with him and other rising leaders of a rapidly decentralizing Soviet Union. Yet they must try to do so without alienating Gorbachev, who still determines Soviet foreign policy. The question of how far to go is already causing some dissent in the West. British diplomats last week were privately but sharply critical of the White

LITHUANIA



Scion of a distinguished line of nationalists, musicologist **VYTAUTAS LANDSBERGIS** is an unbending leader whom Gorbachev finds particularly nettlesome.



ESTONIA

A longtime party member, the sharp-tongued **ARNOLD RUUTEL** faces challenges at home from nationalist rivals as he struggles with Moscow.



LATVIA

ANATOLIJS GORBUNOVS, who was a party functionary for more than 10 years, believes in moderation and is willing to move gradually to total independence.



PHOTO BY AP/WIDE WORLD

House invitation to Yeltsin; one called it a "needless slap in the face to Gorbachev."

The dilemma is likely to worsen, because while it is Gorbachev who is pleading for tens or even hundreds of billions of dollars in economic aid from the West, it is Yeltsin who is pushing the sweeping reforms that in Western eyes are needed to make any such aid effective. That divergence will be pointed up at the conclusion of the summit conference of the G-7 (the Group of Seven major industrial and financial powers) in London on July 15-17. The group last week formally invited Gorbachev to meet with them immediately afterward. He will then make his pitch for massive aid, and the seven undoubtedly will press him for assurances of fundamental change. They probably will get unsatisfactory answers—except in the un-

likely event that they can persuade him to adopt Yeltsin's program.

Yeltsin has promised to resurrect private farming on a grand scale, making land available to every peasant who wants to till his own fields rather than toil for a collective or state farm. Russia already has a private-property law on the books, though Gorbachev gags at endorsing one for the whole Soviet Union. Yeltsin promises to strengthen it and to bring about the "rebirth of entrepreneurship," promoting the formation and expansion of privately owned companies in "any business." Further, he proposes *departizatsiya*, or departification, meaning that the ubiquitous Communist Party committees should have nothing to do with running factories, the army, the KGB or any other Russian institution.

The landslide winner leaves a polling place trailing a horde of press and spectators

This program is so frightening to communist hard-liners as to spur speculation—some of it inside Yeltsin's entourage—that they might attempt a military coup to prevent anything like it from being carried out, in Russia or the other republics. Actually, though, the greater danger might be that Yeltsin will simply be unable to deliver, and his failure will sour a disillusioned populace not only on him but on democracy itself. Yeltsin takes office considerably overpromised. For example, he has pledged a hefty increase in pensions without offering any idea of how he proposes to raise the money. He runs pretty much a one-man show: he has made little attempt to orga-

ARMENIA

Syrian-born linguist **LEVON TER-PETROSSIAN** was imprisoned in 1988 for nationalist activities. He has avoided extremism in his negotiations with Moscow.



MOLDAVIA

Proud of his peasant origins, former communist **MIRCEA SNEGUR** has proved to be a cautious nationalist in handling Moldavia's ethnic squabbles.



GEORGIA

Son of a famed Georgian writer, linguist **ZVIAD GAMSAKHURDIA** won the first popular presidential election in the U.S.S.R. His extensive powers perturb opponents.



World

nize his legions of admirers into a political party, and his staff of advisers and idea people, though excellent, is stretched very thin. Ironically, in fact, Yeltsin can carry out his program only with the cooperation of at least part of the very Communist Party bureaucracy and central Soviet administration he assails so vigorously.

Though on paper Yeltsin now has considerably more legal powers than he did as chairman of the Russian parliament, it is an open question whether he will be able to deploy them. He is heavily dependent on the negotiations between Gorbachev's central government and nine of the 15 Soviet republics for a new treaty replacing the one that formed the Soviet Union in 1922. In those talks, says Georgi Shakhnazarov, an adviser to Gorbachev, "we are encountering the same problems the Americans faced 200 years ago"—and occasionally seeking guidance from the same sources. At one point, addressing representatives of the republics, Gorbachev read excerpts from an Alexander Hamilton essay in *The Federalist Papers* to back up his advocacy of a federal tax system under which the central government would collect at least some revenues directly. He was trying to steer them away from proposals, primarily from Yeltsin, for a plan in which the republics collect all the money and pass on a portion to the Kremlin.

The negotiations are making enough

progress to give Yeltsin and some others hope for a completed draft by next month. But that will not solve all problems even if it happens. For example, the current draft calls for dual administration of defense plants, with organization, planning and design bureaus under central control and factory management within each republic's jurisdiction. That seems less a clear division of authority than a formula for chaotic conflict.

Six of the 15 republics have refused even to participate in the negotiations for a new union treaty, and are shaping programs that look toward total independence. In the rebellious Baltics, Estonia is offering, in effect, to buy its freedom for \$1 billion in hard currency delivered to Moscow. Latvia plans to introduce its own currency, the lat, in the next 12 to 18 months, and has already lined up a Dutch company to print the banknotes. Lithuania has adopted a budget totally separate from the union budget. It proposes to keep all taxes and revenues collected on its territory and use the funds to administer agencies—the Interior Ministry, the public prosecutor's office—formerly financed by and run from Moscow.

In the south, Armenia has scheduled a referendum on independence for Sept. 21, the first step in the five-year process de-

creed by Moscow for formal secession. Meanwhile, though torn by violent ethnic clashes, Armenia is actually carrying out one of the reforms proposed by Yeltsin. The republic has sold 65% of its agricultural land to private farmers. Georgia and Moldavia have been too preoccupied by their own ethnic conflicts to do much in the way of economic reform, but they have made it clear that they also want out of the Union—and in a lot less than five years.

The Baltics, in addition, are making a strong pitch for more foreign investment, and they may soon be joined by most or all of the nine republics that want autonomy rather than independence. Article VII of the draft union treaty authorizes the republics to "establish direct diplomatic, consular, trade and other ties with foreign governments." Shakhnazarov insists this does not mean they can set up their own embassies and conduct their own foreign policy. But, he says, republics can and probably will station representatives at various Soviet embassies to deal directly with foreign governments about the republics' special interests. Those interests are heavily economic; the republics can be expected to strike their own trade and investment deals with foreign countries and, in particular, to angle for a chunk of whatever grants, loans or credits the Western powers decide to make available to the U.S.S.R.

That would please some Sovietologists

Goodbye Lenin, Hello St. Peter

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin must be turning over in his mausoleum. He was never one for personality cults, but to strip his name from the city that gave birth to the communist revolution is the ultimate repudiation of what he stood for. That is precisely what the residents of Leningrad resolved to do last week. According to preliminary results of a referendum organized by the reformist city council, 55% voted to restore the town's old name of St. Petersburg.

Actually, that should be Sankt-Peterburg, which is the Dutch name Peter the Great gave the city when he founded it in 1703 on a swamp on the shore of the Gulf of Finland. Choosing a European version of his patron saint's name to underscore his cosmopolitan ambitions, Peter built the elegant port as a window to the West, intending to yank his fusty country toward the future. When the Russians went to war against Germany in 1914, the city's Teutonic appellation suddenly became politically incorrect. Emperor Nicholas II's solution was to Russify the name, making it Petrograd. So it remained until 1924, when Lenin died, prompting the Bolshevik government to rechristen the city in his honor. It was there, after all, that worker revolts paved the way for the communist uprising.

The communist establishment adamantly opposes another

name swap. Reluctant to rally behind the widely discredited Lenin, apparatchiks have focused their argument on the dubious notion that a rechristening would dishonor the martyrs of the brutal siege of Leningrad, in which the city withstood a

Nazi blockade for 900 days without falling. Functionaries also complain that altering the city's name on street signs, documents and official insignia would cost 150 million rubles.

The voters want Lenin excised, nonetheless, in the well-established Soviet tradition of exorcising demons of the past by rewriting place names. The city of Lugansk has flip-flopped titles four times: Stalin made it Voroshilovgrad, after Marshal Kliment Voroshilov; Khrushchev restored the original name in his anti-Stalin campaign; his successors—deciding that purge had gone too far—changed it back to Voroshilovgrad; and finally (well, at least for now), the city is called Lugansk again.

Still, Leningraders may not get their wish. The Russian parliament must approve the change, and the Supreme Soviet insists that it will have the last word, in this case *nyet*. Come what may, nothing is likely to change the way the city's dwellers refer to their hometown. They have always called it, simply and affectionately, Peter.



America Abroad

Strobe Talbott

The Price of Freedom

who have been arguing for years that the West should stop dealing exclusively with Gorbachev and the center, which they view as declining forces, and cultivate contacts with Yeltsin and other republic leaders. Some American experts argue in addition that aid funneled to the republics would do more to promote economic reform and democracy than would assistance through Moscow's bureaucracy. One idea: set up an international superagency to hold all money the Western governments put up for Soviet economic aid; then have the central government, republics, cities and enterprises bid for the funds; a multinational board of experts would weigh their claims.

"It's a mistake to go through the central government, which has only a 14% acceptance rating in its own country," says James Billington, Librarian of Congress and a scholar of Soviet affairs. "That tends to reinforce precisely the old, essentially declining but still strong [Communist] Party system." Alexander Motyl, a Columbia University Sovietologist, concurs: "There is too much going on in the Soviet Union to have a Soviet policy that is essentially a Gorbachev policy. It misses the variety, the contradictions and the complexity of the situation."

Such talk sounds foolish to many diplomats. British experts insist that the West must continue to deal primarily with Gorbachev because he still holds the power in foreign affairs: Washington can hardly negotiate a reduction in nuclear missiles or Soviet support for the war against Iraq with Yeltsin. Western officials whose prime interest is stability are afraid that bypassing Gorbachev, especially to deal with the six breakaway republics, might encourage a splitting up of the Soviet Union or even civil war, with unpredictable consequences. Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger goes so far as to talk about a "situation akin to 1914," when the breakdown of the Austro-Hungarian Empire into savagely feuding fiefdoms helped trigger World War I.

What is needed is to strike a balance between dealing more with Yeltsin and other republic leaders on economic affairs while continuing to negotiate with Gorbachev on foreign policy. That is a tricky job, and there is no assurance the West will get it right, but Yeltsin has simply put on too much political weight to be ignored. In March he could not get Secretary of State James Baker, who was visiting Moscow, to come to his office for a private meeting; Baker did not want to give Gorbachev's rival special treatment. Now the doors of the White House are about to swing open for Yeltsin. Next year who knows how much power he will exercise and what reception he might deserve? But it would be unwise to bet against the man's potential—and a horseshoe-pitching session between Boris and George at Camp David.

—Reported by David Altkan and John Kohan/
Moscow and Christopher Ogden/Washington

VILNIUS. While Russia was electing its first real President, the Baltic republics were going about their own democratic business. In Estonia, four anticommunist parties pushed for legislation to break up collective farms and convert them into private plots. In Latvia, parliamentarians vigorously debated emergency health care for local soldiers who helped clean up the Chernobyl disaster five years ago. In Lithuania, the Supreme Council passed a new social-welfare bill that will require raising taxes.

The Balts' strategy is to achieve sovereignty in increments. They have already established their own border posts and invited Western economists to advise them on how to set up their own banks. They are trying to introduce their own systems of insurance and taxation as well as their own postage stamps and passports. Two weeks ago, the three Baltic governments called on the KGB to abolish its branch offices in the republics. Last week the three Presidents announced their intention to sign an international treaty curbing the spread of nuclear weapons. They were putting the Soviet Union on notice that it must someday remove its nukes from their territory.

Sooner or later, however, the Balts need the Kremlin's acquiescence to be truly independent. For that they are counting on a combination of pressures from inside and outside the U.S.S.R.

Most Balts were rooting for Boris Yeltsin to win the Russian presidency. "During Yeltsin's campaign he backed our cause," says Marju Lauristin, head of the Estonian Social Democratic Party. "However, he was severely attacked for doing so, and even with his new mandate, there will continue to be political forces hostile to us."

Black Berets training in Riga: the Kremlin's enforcers

Mavris Vulfsons, chairman of the foreign affairs committee of the Latvian parliament, agrees that Yeltsin's victory is a "glimmer of hope," but he warns: "Hard-line imperialists have lost a battle, not the war."

Vulfsons believes that Gorbachev is still indispensable as President of the U.S.S.R. "Gorbachev is a brilliant tactician," he says. "Only he can keep control over the dark underside of Russian nationalism, particularly in its colonialist form."

That force erupted on two bloody Sundays in January, when Black Beret special forces and other Soviet units killed at least 18 people in Vilnius and Riga. Last Friday, Black Berets burned a Lithuanian customs post on the Latvian border and severely beat an unarmed guard. The entrances to official buildings throughout the Baltics are barricaded with concrete slabs, some decorated with patriotic murals. Now Moscow is threatening to impose economic sanctions on any republic that secedes, and the general staff of the armed forces is insisting that the Baltic governments pay "financial compensation" for any of their citizens who resist the draft.

Ironically, this may turn out to be good news. By demanding that the Balts fork over what amounts to reparations for living under Soviet occupation for 51 years, Moscow seems to have conceded the principle of freedom and opened the bidding on its price. "We are ready to start negotiations any time," says Lithuanian Vice President Česlovas Stankevičius.

Gorbachev will be in London next month, hat in hand, appealing for aid from the major industrialized democracies. If the leaders there oblige him with any money at all, they should make clear they are underwriting not just the future of reform inside the U.S.S.R. but the right of the Balts to leave without being mugged on their way out the door. Call it ransom—but it would be worth it.



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NICARAGUA

Keeping It All in the Family

President Chamorro promised to run an open government, but cronyism and dealings by her son-in-law (and chief adviser) have muddled that pledge

By JOHN MOODY MANAGUA

With his owlish gaze, lithe step and limber tongue, Antonio Lacayo Oyanguren looks and acts like the Jesuit-trained postgraduate of M.I.T. that he is. For most of his 45 years, he has labored in profitable obscurity. During nearly 11 years of rule by the Sandinista National Liberation Front, Lacayo, the son of one wealthy family who married into another, tended to business, leaving Nicaragua's treacherous politics to others.

He could no longer maintain that low

retain Sandinista General Humberto Ortega Saavedra as head of the armed forces. Lacayo's official title is Minister of the Presidency, but some feel he might as well be called Mr. Presidency. "Doña Violeta conferred absolute power on Antonio from the beginning," says a longtime family friend. "He's running the country."

Lacayo toils 14 hours a day in an office that would be used by Vice President Virgilio Godoy Reyes if he and Chamorro were on better terms. Until this month, Lacayo's sister Silvia was the country's treasurer, and her husband Alfredo César Aguirre is president of the National Assembly. Lacayo's cousin heads the Central Bank, and all three national newspapers are directed by Chamorros, including the pro-government *La Prensa*, where Lacayo's wife Cristiana is president. During a two-hour interview, Lacayo bristled at the suggestion that he and his family wield inordinate power. "We are still in an emergency," he says. "To compare the form of government we have in Nicaragua with the U.S., or Costa Rica, or Switzerland, which have traditions of democracy, is infantile."

But Lacayo presides over an insiders' network that mocks Chamorro's vows to run a "transparent" administration. Last November the government ordered 400,000 new passports, claiming that the old documents were no longer any good because the Sandinistas, in their final months of power, had issued papers to non-Nicaraguans with no right to citizenship. Under Nicaraguan law, the printing contract, worth more than \$1 million,

should have been open for public bidding. It was not. Although at least one other company made an unsolicited offer to do the job more cheaply, the contract was awarded to Continental Trading, which is a subsidiary of OCAL, a company owned by distant relatives of Lacayo's. The deal was approved by the Minister of Finance, who once served OCAL as an adviser. Lacayo insists there is nothing wrong with using business contacts to get fast results. "This government is composed of businessmen," he says. "We're used to the working methods of the private sector."



Chamorro: a question of appearances

profile after his mother-in-law, Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, defeated the Sandinistas and became President of Nicaragua in April 1990. Lacayo, who served as Chamorro's campaign director, immediately began shaping the new administration; according to insiders, he picked the President's Cabinet and made the controversial decision to

Gracsa cooking-oil company, below, in Managua; Antonio Lacayo, right



Welfare Minister Silviano Matamoros, an optician, last year closed two state-run shops that made eyeglasses for the poor, and sold their inventory to a private optical-supply company—his. The controller general cleared Matamoros, who paid fair market prices, of wrongdoing, but the minister at the very least had an inside track on purchasing the spectacles.

Lacayo's own business ventures suggest a possible conflict of interest, although he has never been accused officially of impropriety. Gracsa, a company of which he is a stockholder and former general manager, is part of a cartel of cooking-oil companies that benefited from foreign donations of cooking oil last year. The government sold the oil to the firms at below market price; they turned around and sold it to consumers for nearly twice what they had paid. While admitting the companies turned a handsome profit, Alfredo Marín, Gracsa's general manager, maintains, "The government has done nothing, nothing, nothing, for this company."

In 1989 Lacayo bought a stake in San Felipe, a failing state-run chicken farm. Since then it has made a remarkable comeback. Marín, who also sits on its board of directors, predicts that San Felipe will be the country's No. 1 chicken producer in three years.

Lacayo attributes his success in business to financial acumen and patriotism during the Sandinista regime. Says he: "Everyone said that to invest in Nicaragua meant supporting the Sandinistas. I believed that it would lead to victory against the Sandinistas. So I opted to invest."

Competitors remain skeptical. Observes Octavio Alvarado, president of the Association of Aviculture: "All private producers fear competition from businesses protected by the government. It doesn't look right that members of the government also have business interests." Guillermo Arostegui, vice president of Gracsa's main competitor, the Numar Group, is in agreement: "It's obvious Lacayo has an advantage. He used to run Gracsa; now he runs the country."

Nicaraguans agree that Chamorro—guided by Lacayo—has kept her two central campaign pledges: to end the nine-year conflict between the Sandinista army and the U.S.-backed *contras*, and to eliminate the military draft. Her administration is also slowly repairing the economic meltdown produced by Sandinista mismanagement, the war and a U.S. embargo on trade that was lifted only last year.

But to win peace with the Sandinistas,

Lacayo has dealt with them very gingerly, opening him up to another set of criticisms and splintering the 14-party coalition that supported Chamorro's candidacy. Francisco Mayorga, who served as Central Bank president, resigned last October after stormy clashes with Lacayo. Says he: "Antonio can't make any decision without the acquiescence of the Sandinistas."

The blarney of the administration's soft policy on the Sandinistas is its own Vice President. Godoy remains outraged that General Ortega held on to his army post and has repeatedly called Chamorro and Lacayo "prisoners of the military." Lacayo pounces on such overheated rhetoric. "How much accommodation with the Sandinistas is too much?" he asks. "If we're too generous, that's better than not being generous enough. The gains we've made by negotiating with the Sandinistas are enormous. For a start, we're not killing each other anymore."

That argument may temporarily assuage war-scarred Nicaraguans, who yearn for prosperity and peace. But investing a single unelected official—even one as able as Lacayo—with so much authority is contrary to the spirit of democracy, and calls to mind Lord Acton's theorem about the corrosive effect of absolute power. —With reporting by Jan Howard/Managua

The Sandinistas' Greedy Goodbye

Whatever the shortcomings of the Chamorro government, they pale in comparison with the Sandinistas' shameless pillaging of the country during the two months between their electoral defeat and the day Violeta Barrios de Chamorro took the helm. Nicaraguans refer to those rapacious weeks as "*la piñata*," after the papier-mâché animals that children whack with a stick so they can plunder the candy stuffed inside.

While estimates of the booty go as high as \$700 million, the full extent of Sandinista looting will never be known. By order of the outgoing government, Central Bank, Treasury and comptroller records from February to April 1990 were destroyed. But *TIME* has obtained partial documentation of their greedy goodbye to power.

Former President Daniel Ortega Saavedra, who the morning after his defeat proclaimed, "We were born poor, and we'll be satisfied to die poor," had a last-minute change of heart. In April the President's office ordered the withdrawal of \$3.6 million in U.S. currency from the Central Bank, plus the equivalent of \$5 million more in Nicaraguan cordobas. Francisco Mayorga, who, as Chamorro's first Central Bank president, inherited the mess that the Sandinistas left behind, estimates that a total of \$24 million was looted from the bank.

Ortega is still living in a house seized from Jaime Morales Carazo and valued at \$950,000, including antiques and an art collection. Last April Ortega paid a token \$2,500 to the former Sandinista government for the deed to the house, which is protected from prying eyes by a high wall decorated with festive murals. Other top Sandinistas also retired in style. Miguel D'Escoto, the rotund priest and ex-Foreign Minister, paid only \$130,000 for one of the capital's plushest mansions.

In the countryside the Sandinistas grabbed ranches and



The walls of Ortega's house: a bargain at \$2,500

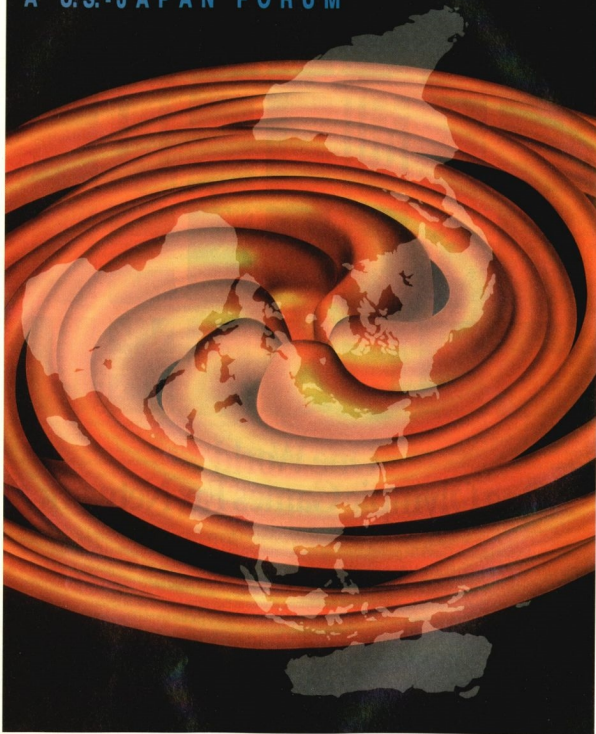
farms. Wilfredo López Palma, an assembly deputy, took 2,650 acres in the department of Rivas. Luis Felipe Pérez, the Sandinista mayor of the city of León, acquired a 600-acre farm. Mario Hurtado Jiménez, who headed the state Corporation of Aviculture, leased a chicken farm to himself on easy-to-pay terms. His rent: 500 dozen eggs a month.

State-owned enterprises became private overnight, with former Sandinista Cabinet ministers and army officers listed as executives. Chamorro's government is attempting to evict Ortega and a handful of other Sandinista squatters from their mansions. But for the most part, it has decided to ignore "*la piñata*." Says Antonio Lacayo, Chamorro's right-hand man: "In this country, political reality has more weight than the law."

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INTRODUCTION

AN IDEAL INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY:
THE TWO FACES OF JAPAN

By Taichi Sakaiya

Japan is often called an economic superpower, and there are many statistics to prove it. The per capita income is one of the highest in the world, and the nation's per capita assets are three times those of the United States and four times those of Great Britain. Japan's trade balance stays solidly in the black. In automobiles, electronics and other fields, the country has unmatched international competitiveness. The personal savings rate, though declining, is still 14% of income, the top in the world.

Viewed as a whole, however, Japanese society is not very efficient. Although the real per capita income is about the same as in the U.S. or the former West Germany, Japanese employees must work an average of 2,160 hours to earn that income; Americans work only 1,980 hours, and West Germans a mere 1,640 hours. For Japanese to obtain the same real income, they must work some 10% more than Americans and 30% more than West Germans.

Japan is often said to be advanced technologically, with more industrial robots and office automation equipment than any other country. Facsimile machines and word processors have spread even to the home, and most elementary school children have their own home video games. The railway and telecommunication systems are both fast and accurate.

Japan has universal education and a high-quality labor force. Aside from the handicapped, the entire population can read, write and calculate. Over 94% of all children enter high school, and some 40% go on to college. In fact, if we include those who study in educational institutions that would be considered colleges in the U.S., over half of all high school graduates receive some advanced education. In the workplace, Japanese are loyal employees, working hard with few labor disputes. Almost all workers desire greater growth and prosperity for their companies.

Japanese corporate managers work hard to keep their companies going, and they invest heavily in their own businesses. Few stockholders complain about low dividends, since the stockholders themselves are interested less in this year's return than in the long-term growth of the company.

There is no doubt that these social and economic conditions have combined to increase Japan's industrial production and raise the international competitiveness of its industrial products. Nevertheless, the lower efficiency of Japan's society compared with that of the U.S. or the former West Germany points to the existence of extensive waste.

The efficiency of Japan's distribution industry is poor. Construction costs are high. It now costs much more to edit a magazine or implement surveys or designs in Japan than in other countries. In other words, despite Japan's top-level productiv-

ity and competitiveness in standardized mass-produced industrial products such as automobiles and electronic goods, the country has become an industrial monoculture with only mediocre efficiency in other fields.

A Society Created for Standardized Mass Production

What caused this huge gap between Japan's unquestioned superiority in standardized mass-production industries and its poor performance in other fields? Much of the answer lies in the country's geography and traditions, as well as in its governmental policies since the Meiji Restoration over 120 years ago.

For centuries Japan had been a peaceful rice-farming nation with little experience in external wars, so it had almost no conception of crisis management as a way of preparing for wars or natural disasters. As a result, Japanese organizations emphasized harmony and disliked strong individuality or leadership.

When Japan entered onto the path of modernization over 120 years ago, it adopted technology and methods of organization from Europe and North America. Detailed knowledge obtained from foreign countries was more important than individuality or creativity. This was the foundation for Japan's intensive effort over the past half-century to build a society that would be suitable for standardized mass-production industries.

The first step in creating such a society was to establish standards for products and facilities of all types. The purpose was both to make possible standardized mass production and to secure markets for mass-produced goods. The second step was to set up school districts for elementary and junior high schools in each residential area, thus teaching the same knowledge, skills and sense of order to everyone throughout the country. This would enable any citizen to work in the country's standardized mass production.

The third step was to form industrial organizations for every area of industry. These groups, run from their headquarters in Tokyo by retired government officials, were intended both to implement thorough standardized mass production and to create harmony within their industries in order to prevent excessive competition. The organizations concentrated all sources of information in Tokyo in order to provide the same information nationwide and to make possible the distribution of identical standardized products throughout the country.

This policy began in the 1940s, but it only acquired the strong support of the Japanese people in the years after the war, especially during the 1960s. Japan thus evolved into an "ideal industrial society" for standardized mass production, while at the same time becoming a society weak in both individuality and creativity. The period of rapid economic growth beginning around 1955 gave birth to the customs of lifetime employment

Bridging the U.S.-Japan Perception Gap

Discussion on Japan-U.S. relations between Kazuo Ogura, Director-General of the Cultural Affairs Department, Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Kazutami Yamazaki, Senior Staff Writer in the Economic News Department, Editorial Bureau, of The Nihon Keizai Shimbun.

Q: Do you feel that there is a credibility gap between the U.S. and Japan? Recent polls suggest that the two countries don't necessarily see each other as being dependable allies. What can be done to rebuild or establish trust between the two countries?

Ogura: Perhaps it would be better to use the expression "perception gap." There is a gap between reality and expectation.

For instance, the Japanese people have a certain image of the United States. The U.S. symbolizes an ideal for them, and they consider it to be a great country. In economic terms, the Japanese people want the U.S. to be revitalized, so they have high expectations regarding it. In reality, the United States has problems with the economy and the budget deficit. The Japanese feel Americans should adopt a more open attitude toward foreign investment. We think the U.S. should introduce the metric system as well. These issues have been discussed in the SII talks, but in past SII discussions we haven't seen much improvement on the U.S. side. There was some, of course, but not enough. Considering these factors, the Japanese cannot but doubt the seriousness of the U.S.

On the other hand, the U.S. has certain expectations of Japan, but the way Japan responds to those expectations is either slow or inadequate. So Japan must take on its role in the international arena and respond fully to Americans' and the world's expectations. Both Japan and the U.S. should make efforts to bridge these gaps.

Yamazaki: Basically, I agree with



The interviewer listens as Yamazaki (left) and Ogura (right) converse over a Tuesday-morning breakfast at the Imperial Hotel.

what you say regarding this credibility or perception gap. For instance, *The Nihon Keizai Shimbun* recently conducted a poll which found that 45% of Americans believe they can trust Japan while 45% believe they cannot. But to use the term "credibility gap" may cause some misunderstanding, since relations between the U.S. and Japan are basically healthy. I think it's more a question of the perception, or "image gap," widening. For instance, from the summer of 1989 until last summer I was a Nieman Fellow at Harvard University. During this time, the Berlin Wall collapsed and relations with the Eastern bloc countries changed drastically. I felt then that the image of Japan held by Americans was worsening. The U.S.-Japan relationship changed greatly.

This has come at a time when Americans are becoming fearful about their economic prospects. It is clear that because of the recent high-profile Japanese investments in the U.S., Americans have developed an uncomfortable feeling toward the Japanese, mainly because Japanese investments in the U.S. have shifted to buying up "community-related assets" like hotels, golf courses, houses and so on.

Another reason for the perception

gap is that Americans are not sure what Japan stands for. This image of Japan existed long before the Gulf War, but it was strengthened during that war. Will Japan be willing to fight for liberty and freedom? This is the most fundamental question.

Meanwhile, Japan's image of America is not very good either. Because of trade pressure from the U.S., the Japanese people are frustrated and developing uneasy feelings toward Americans.

There are good aspects in the U.S.-Japan relationship—for example, sister-city ties and industrial cooperation. On a personal level, communication is very active. So there are definitely some positive aspects to the bilateral relationship, but these are being damaged by the image gap. If you really want to change or improve your image, you have to change your reality first. Thus, there are many things both the U.S. and Japan should do.

Ogura: I think we have to distinguish between two problems. One is Japan-U.S. economic relations and the other is the political gap. When I said that there is a gap between

perception and reality, I had the political aspect in mind. In strictly financial and economic terms, relations between Japan and the U.S. are deepening. But in human terms, there's not much interdependence; that part of the relationship is lagging behind. So there is a gap. I am not as pessimistic as Mr. Yamazaki, but I think that this human, or political, factor has to be improved.

The Japanese people have feelings of goodwill and respect toward Americans, but the Americans' perception of Japan is worsening. In most other countries anti-Americanism is a political factor, but not in Japan. I think in this respect the Japanese are mature. But it will be a critical problem if this warm feeling toward America erodes.

Still, I think the American perception of Japan can be changed through the efforts of both sides.



Kazuo Ogura

Q: Switching the discussion to America itself: In the wake of both the cold war and the Gulf War, what role should the U.S. play in the world? Should it be a global policeman, the enforcer of the new world order?

Yamazaki: Now that the U.S. has demonstrated its very strong leadership, in general terms I think that many people in Japan expect the U.S. to play a more positive role in disarmament.

One result of the Gulf War is that America's confidence in its technology has recovered to a considerable extent. Secondly, the U.S. showed clear moral and political leadership. Liberty, justice, civil rights and independence of nations—

the U.S. will protect these, even at the cost of its people's lives. Thirdly, if we look at the way Americans fought the Gulf War, we will see that they did so with the assistance of many other countries militarily and financially. So the present state of the world is not Pax Americana in the strict sense of the word.

Q: How does Japan fit into the new international security system?

Ogura: Over the long-term, there will be various roles for Japan to play. At the moment, Japan can make a major contribution by protecting the natural environment. In terms of the human environment, our country should make efforts to help solve problems such as drug use and terrorism. And Japan should aid democratization in areas such as Eastern Europe, Asia and Central and South America. Japan can also make international contributions in terms of disarmament, as well as help with disaster relief and refugee problems. Security means more than sending troops—it also means helping to remove the causes of war.

Yamazaki: Security should be considered in a very broad sense. I basically agree with you, but I'd like to add one more thing. In this post-cold war era, this post-Gulf War era, it is time, according to President Bush, to set up a new world order. This new world order is to be established with the cooperation of all countries, but nobody really has a clear concept of it. So how can Japan play a role in creating this concept? I think that one way to change the image of Japan is through helping to establish a clear vision of this new world order.

Ogura: The U.S. and Japan should cooperate in expanding the human frontier, for instance in space technology. In this Japan and the U.S. would be excellent partners.

Yamazaki: About a year ago a Liberal Democratic Party delegation went to Washington, D.C., and held a discussion with members of Congress. In the discussion, the LDP members said, "You Americans keep telling us what

to do, and because of this the Japanese are developing a strong antipathy toward America. You should stop criticizing Japan so." Hearing this, the American congressional leaders responded, "What we're saying is that when you Japanese eat Japanese food, you use chopsticks, but when you eat Western food, you use a knife and fork." This has many contextual implications. American representatives say that they want a level playing field, that Japan should adopt American manners and rules in dealing with the U.S. But the Japanese are not used to this, so Americans are frustrated.

Japan should observe America's good points: tolerance, human rights, helping the weak—these virtues of American society can be learned by Japan. By the same token, Americans should perhaps learn from the Japanese about diligence and aesthetic sense. There has already been a great deal of interest in Japanese management.



Kazumichi Yamazaki

Ogura: To mention another point, what Japan thinks is not clear. After all, there is no consensus regarding Japan's direction. If we can establish one clear path for the country, though some Americans may oppose it, at least they will understand that we know where we are going.

Japan also needs to be more mature politically. In the past the U.S. was very tolerant about manifestations of anti-Americanism in Japan, and now Japan must show that it can take the same sort of criticism in stride.

and the seniority system. In the workplace, this led to an emphasis on personnel who were hardworking, stubborn and cooperative. Individuality and creativity were set aside. These policies were the origin of the Japanese style of management.

As a consequence, Japan was transformed into a society that was extremely efficient at standardized mass production but hindered by inefficient regulations and personal networks in other fields.

The business organizations that have created this standardized mass production are skilled at group harmony and at dividing up their spheres of influence. Japan is therefore well suited for growth in a stable environment. The country can handle small changes smoothly. However, the corporate spirit that tends to exclude strong leadership and creativity has difficulty dealing with large changes. And large changes are just what the 1990s have in store.

The 1990s: Time for a New World Order

The world is entering a period of transformation. For more than four decades after the end of World War II, the international system was based on the cold war between East and West. This system had two subsystems: the separate world orders for East and West.

For the Eastern socialist bloc, its world order meant a central military command structure implemented through the Warsaw Pact, restrictions on political sovereignty that prevented countries from leaving the socialist framework, and socialist economies organized around COMECON. On the other side, the West's world order meant the American nuclear umbrella militarily, parliamentary democracy politically, and free trade and multilateral settlements provided by GATT and IMF economically.

A member of the Western camp ever since the end of World War II, Japan has achieved extensive economic growth thanks to its skillful use of the West's world order. As Japanese companies expanded their standardized mass production, they benefited greatly from the West's economic order as well (that is, free trade and multilateral settlements).

However, the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989 brought an end to the cold war. The international structure underwent fundamental changes. That vital subsystem—the world order—had no choice but to be transformed. In the military field, the formation of multinational forces to fight in the Persian Gulf was an important step towards the creation of a new world order.

But even more important is the reorganization of the world's economic order. The West's victory in the cold war was a welcome event for Japan, but the new world that is being born will not be a simple one.

The countries of the East that have opened up thanks to the end of the cold war now suffer from shortages of capital and commodities, and the destruction of their natural environments poses a serious threat. The Soviet Union and other countries of Eastern Europe are confronting the possibility of political turmoil and the efflux of huge numbers of refugees.

But an even more serious problem is likely to be the growing gap between North and South. As a worldwide shortage of capital cuts the flow of investment to developing countries,

problems of desertification and expanding population in those areas become ever more serious. During the 1960s, the earth's population was said to be 800 million rich people and 2.4 billion poor; by the year 2000, this could become 800 million rich and 6.4 billion poor. If nothing is done, the East-West confrontation will be replaced by increasing enmity between North and South.

For a Comprehensive Viewpoint and Systematic Action

Companies must plan their actions from a viewpoint that considers how the world will be organized and what the future world order will be. This problem transcends humane assistance and cultural exchanges. Each firm must consider what kind of world order or international environment would benefit that company and take systematic action from a comprehensive viewpoint to create the desired world.

Until now, both government and business in Japan have concentrated on skillfully using the international system and world order that were built by other countries. They did not consider that Japan's behavior might have an influence on the world. Instead, they concentrated only on taking the good points from overseas and dealing with individual problems as they arose.

As an economic superpower, though, Japan is now bound to have a strong influence on the rebuilding of the international system and world order whether it wants to or not. The country can no longer pick and choose, such as demanding free trade in one area and embracing protectionism in another. Japanese protection of one industry contributes to the spread of protectionism throughout the world. Japan can no longer give lip service to freedom while strengthening restrictions on action. Japan's failure to take action has been the result of its lack of real influence on world affairs.

With Japanese companies extending their influence around the globe, they must examine the world from a comprehensive viewpoint and endeavor to act systematically and consistently.



Mr. Sakatya began work at the Ministry of International Trade and Industry after graduating with a degree in economics from Tokyo University. At MITI he was involved in the Japan Exposition, the Okinawa Ocean Exposition and the Sunshine Plan. Since retiring from the Ministry in 1978, Mr. Sakatya has been active as a writer and lecturer. His many books and translations include Yudan (Negligence), Dankai no Sedai (The Baby-Boomer Generation) and Shinto Kensetsu (Building a New Capital).

INTERNATIONALISM BRIDGES THE GAP BETWEEN EAST AND WEST

By Frank Gibney

It was just ten years ago that the Pacific Basin Institute in Santa Barbara produced the first in a long series of documentary films. Called "People and Productivity: We Learn from Japan," it discussed the success of three different manufacturing operations in the United States. The first had been an American-owned electronics plant, and now was a newly acquired subsidiary of a Japanese electronics firm. The second was a newly established Japanese automotive factory in the Midwest—almost the first one to appear in the United States. The third involved the use of "Japanese style" manufacturing methods in an American plant in Massachusetts, the heart of the traditional "rust belt" in the Northeast.

The film was an instant success. For the last ten years, we have had repeated requests for it from American businesses, business schools, universities and labor unions, all of them eager to see exactly what was behind all the talk about "just in time" methods, "quality circles" and the like. Since that film came out, American knowledge of such "Japanese style" methods has vastly increased. The number of Japanese corporations with American plants and American employees has also escalated. It is no longer an oddity to find American machinists, draftsmen and executives working for Japanese businesses.

In the process, everybody has learned a great deal. Japanese businesses have learned how American employees perform, what they will accept, what they will not accept, and the possibility of dealing with American labor unions rather than trying to circumvent them. Japanese businesses in the U.S. have made numerous concessions to American ideas on efficiency and production, not to mention American insistence on such matters as equal-opportunity employment, which is unknown in Japan's ethnically homogenous society. Americans have learned from the Japanese dedication to quality and performance, and from the sense of solidarity that Japanese businesses ideally try to instill in their workers. It took a long time, however, before people on either side of the ocean could accept the ideas and, on occasion, the deeply rooted prejudices of people on the other side.

When I read about the strains put on the Japanese-American relationship, and all the talk of government confrontation, I can't help reviewing the last ten years to see how well our partnership has stood the test of time. I am impressed by the tremendous accomplishments both countries have made over the years.

At the University of California, Santa Barbara, where I have taught for some years in the economics and political science departments, students' interest in Japan and the Japanese business society is extremely high. When I held a class in the economics department with exactly that title—"The Japanese Business Society"—it was oversubscribed. There was a sense of internationalism in American students that I had not noticed before.

This sense of internationalism is growing on both sides of the Pacific. On my frequent visits to Japan, it is heartening to note that there are now quite a few young Americans working for Japanese companies. They are good at the language and comfortable living at least on the business side of Japanese society. Similarly, there are more and more cases of individual Japanese businessmen going to work for U.S. firms and deciding, with their families, to make their future in this country. This was not

the case ten years ago.

Over the last decade, we have seen an extraordinary intensification of the Japanese-American partnership. Where it once was confined to the manufacturing sector, it has now extended into the service industries. A number of American banks have been purchased by Japanese financial institutions, and Japanese security houses have set up outposts on American soil. American investment bankers, for their part, have flocked to Japan. Tokyo, they say, is where some of the best deals are made. Through it all we are developing, albeit slowly, a new generation of international executives with Japanese or American origins.

Sometimes the learning experience has been difficult. It was a struggle, for example, to persuade American firms in Japan that employees should be regularly consulted and kept informed on company activities. This is a procedure not often followed in the United States, but this kind of information-sharing is vital to a company's success. Similarly, ten years ago it was very hard for me to convince many of my Japanese friends in the U.S. of the value of what Americans call corporate citizenship. Due partly to Japan's tax laws—which originally gave little credit for charitable contributions—many Japanese businesses here were at first reluctant to participate intensively in civic activities, or to contribute to foundations and other nonprofit organizations, as many American corporations do. This reluctance was rooted in Japanese tradition. Japanese companies perform within themselves so many philanthropic functions that it is often difficult for them to realize or perceive the need for any such activity outside the corporation. Nonetheless, I am happy to say that over the years the Japanese corporations in the United States have come to realize the virtues of public corporate giving. I hope that this tendency will continue to expand.

As Japanese and American international companies, with branches on both sides of the Pacific, have become more sophisticated in their approach, one finds increasingly less need for talking about "Japanese style" or "American style" management. With corporations of both nations striving to run their businesses according to the best ideas available, the question of where these ideas originally came from becomes ultimately irrelevant.

Despite all the scare articles in the newspapers, therefore, I feel that the Japanese-American connection will continue to grow steadily. If all parties concerned look carefully for one another's virtues as well as defects, we will end up with a truly international business network spanning the Pacific. This can only increase the welfare and better the standard of living of both the Japanese and the American peoples. Furthermore, the Japanese-American relationship—a relationship unprecedented in its closeness for two countries with such different cultures—will set an example of international cooperation for the rest of the world to aspire to as well.

Mr. Gibney is a former Tokyo bureau chief for the Time-Life News Service with long experience in Japan. As president of The Pacific Basin Institute in Santa Barbara, Calif., he often travels to Japan in the course of his work. Mr. Gibney is the author of *Five Gentlemen in Japan: The Fragile Superpower, and Miracle by Design: The Real Reasons Behind Japan's Economic Success*.

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Hitachi is a people company in other ways, too. Our recently established GREEN Center (Global Resources, Environment & Energy System Center) will soon join the battle to solve such problems as acid rain, the greenhouse effect and ozone depletion. Even more, we accept some 50 foreign researchers every year to work at our research laboratories. The international exchange of information that takes place leads to technological advances and stimulates further discussion among the academic community.

The breadth and scope of Hitachi is deep, indeed. Our products are found in offices, stores, factories, hospitals and homes around the world.

And with a people-oriented philosophy, Hitachi will continue to grow and secure a place as a citizen of the world. Creating products and technologies that make the lives of people everywhere better.

*\$2,718 million; net R&D expenditures for the year ended March 31, 1990. US\$1 = ¥158



HITACHI

"Information Processing in Business Is Changing Greatly"

—Hiroshi Hamada, President of Ricoh, Tokyo

Information processing in business is changing greatly according to the demands of the customers, advances in technology, and the way that the technology is used. And society is moving in the direction of these major changes. Therefore, we plan to direct Ricoh's strengths in the same direction.

In the past, the major focus was on use of the computer for information processing, especially data processing. Now there is a movement toward fusion of image-related processing with data processing. This digitalized and fused image-processing equipment—such as scanners, copiers and optical filing systems—is used in parallel with the computer to maximize efficiency.

Ricoh, as a manufacturer of image-processing equipment, has developed a relationship with major computer manufacturers such as IBM to supply peripherals that will be connected to their computers. Computer manufacturers want this because it is what their customers demand. Ricoh's business partners are going to respond with Ricoh's image-processing technology to create a "user solution," if I may use IBM terminology. And I believe that this trend is going to firmly establish itself in the next year or two.

The border between office automation and information processing has virtually disappeared. Now we are in an age where people are pursuing creative work not only at their desks in their offices, but also at home, in hotel rooms, or even from their cars. We want to pro-



Mr. Hamada joined Ricoh after graduating from the University of Tokyo in 1957 with a degree in economics. In 1969 he was appointed general manager of the president's office, and in 1975 he became a director of the firm. In 1983 Mr. Hamada was appointed president of Ricoh.

vide equipment and systems that will enable people to work creatively wherever they are. This means that we must develop a system that provides a link to the office central computer at any time and from any place. If you have the fixed perception that information processing can take place only in the office, you will not be able to achieve advanced personalization.

In the relationship between people and information, there are two aspects to be considered. The first is the ability to utilize the information that has been collected and stored. In order to make retrieval and utilization easier, we at Ricoh would like to develop a system using personalized optical disks. Not only would this increase the amount of information accessible, but it would also be friendly to the environment and at the same time be a step in the direction of creating the "paperless office." The second aspect concerns accessing information that an individual or company has not yet received and stored—but would like to. This, however, depends on the development of the infrastructure of the society.

In addition to the term "paperless," I would like to mention "keyboardless," as I think that these two trends will progress simultaneously. I do not mean that the keyboard will disappear from the desktop, but I am sure that the frequency of using the keyboard to input information will decrease as the use of scanners becomes more widespread. Then we will be well on the way to achieving fusion between image processing and computers.

STRATEGIES FOR THE '90s

"There Are Performance Thresholds That Must Be Crossed"

—Professor John Hennessy, Stanford University



Professor Hennessy teaches Electrical Engineering and Computer Science at Stanford University, and is director of Stanford's Computer Systems Laboratory.

It seems likely that computer performance will continue to increase during the 1990's at the same steady rate. We should see desktop machines capable of 100 MIPS (million instructions per second) in late 1992 or early 1993. They'll reach 200 MIPS in 1994 or 1995, and will probably break 1,000 by the end of the decade. The challenge will be inventing new applications to take advantage of all that power.

There are performance thresholds that must be crossed before certain applications become possible. Image processing is a good example. Simply storing images requires large amounts of memory, and replaying these images in anything close to real time increases memory needs very rapidly. Image processing can be done today on supercomputers, but it's unreasonably expensive. Advances in computer performance during the next few years will make it econom-

ically feasible, and therefore much more widespread. This will also hold true for the processing of other types of sensory data, such as speech.

In some ways, an even bigger challenge for the computer industry will be making computers easier to use. Today's computers are faster than we expected they'd be ten years ago, and they're cheaper than we expected—but they're substantially harder to use than we would have guessed. That will have to change if computers are going to do the kinds of things we want them to do.

In conclusion, I have a very simple way of looking at my profession: I want to actively seek better ways to trade millions and millions of computer cycles for one human brain cycle. Human brains are the thing that's in short supply. Computers are easy to come by.

"I Want People to Consider Hitachi a Global Corporation"

—Tsunao Tanaka, Group Executive of the International Operations Group of Hitachi, Tokyo



Mr. Tanaka graduated with a degree in electrical engineering from Kyushu University in 1957 and started working in Hitachi's international division the same year. After a career that included a posting in New Delhi and work in international sales, Mr. Tanaka was appointed president of Hitachi America in 1985. In 1989 he returned to Japan and is now a member of Hitachi's board of directors.

We will give more independence and responsibility to overseas manufacturing groups, and they will manufacture with their own research, development and design, and sell their products all over the world. This is the true goal of globalization.

At our U.S. operation we use American facilities and operate with American labor. We pay taxes and hire many people, which benefits the local community. But this is not the end of globalization. I believe we have to transfer technology, which is very important in making our manufacturing facilities independent. In the meantime, however, I believe that basic research will remain in Japan.

The overall international business policy should be established in the home country, but we hope our U.S. operation, our European operation and our Asian operation will become more local, especially in the area of daily or monthly business policy. Once this network is established, we will support them from Japan.

When we reach that stage, I still don't know whether Hitachi will be considered, or if Hitachi will emphasize, that it is a Japanese company or a global corporation. Personally, I want people to consider Hitachi a global corporation.

When I was president of Hitachi America I promoted Americanization of the company. I had many reasons, but the biggest was to operate Hitachi America as a company with its own policy. For this purpose, I felt it better to have American management with a major stake

in running the operation.

I promoted many Americans to the general manager level or the vice president level. The executive vice president of Hitachi America is an American. When I left Hitachi America I told all my employees that when I first arrived in the U.S. it was my dream to have an American president in the future. Then I told them that it was no longer a dream, but a hope. After this promotion of Americanization, a lot of good things happened in the company. One was that employee turnover became much lower. There were many employees who had been working at Hitachi America for more than ten years.

Secondly, I could hire much better-quality people from outside. I started this program of hiring fresh graduates from first-class universities two years ago. In the first year we hired six of them, and in the second year seven. We train them for two years in Hitachi America. During the next two to three years, they come over here to Japan to have training as employees of Hitachi Ltd., not Hitachi America, and they work here. They study many things—not only technical subjects, but getting to know each other, differences in culture and differences between the American and Japanese ways of doing business. We send them back, and if their quality is very good we promise to send them to graduate school at the company's expense.

As a global corporation, Hitachi believes that its people are more important than the products they make or sell.

GLOBALIZATION

"Taking Sales Directly to the Outlets was a Major Revolution"

—Senior Vice President T. Burke McKinney, Coca-Cola (Japan) Co.

Today, Coca-Cola is the top selling soft drink in Japan, accounting for over 90% of the cola market. Many of our other products are also leaders in their particular categories.

Coca-Cola (Japan) Company, the Japanese arm of The Coca-Cola Company of Atlanta, Georgia, works closely with 17 locally owned and locally managed bottling companies. Each bottler has a franchise agreement with The Coca-Cola Company to produce and market our products in a specified territory. Altogether, the Coca-Cola system employs 23,000 people throughout Japan.

Choosing the right partners in Japan was a key factor in our success. Our early bonding with local companies was a tremendous aid in helping to overcome some of the many challenges international companies face when doing business in Japan—language differences,

complex government regulations and market idiosyncrasies.

It is no exaggeration to say that taking soft drink sales directly to the outlets in Japan was a major revolution in the industry. It was an uphill battle, but we were determined to make it work. The result is that today ours is one of the most effective distribution systems in Japan.

We have also learned from the Japanese. To do business in Japan you must have a quality product, which we had. We also learned the value of patience, and in the early days when there were government restrictions on our business, we used the time to good effect by researching and understanding the market and the Japanese consumer. The strength of our local marketing team has been a vital factor in the success of the Coca-Cola business in Japan.



Mr. McKinney is a senior vice president and director of marketing. He joined Coca-Cola in 1973 and has held senior marketing positions in the U.S., Asia and Australasia.

"We're Trying to Do More than Just Control Pollution"

—Yobitaro Iida, Chairman of Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, Tokyo

Over the past 20 years, we at Mitsubishi Heavy Industries have been involved in the design of thermal as well as nuclear power plants. As a result, we have studied environmental problems very thoroughly. The first environmental problem we worked on solving related to thermal power generation.

We produce many boilers for power plants, and in the past there had been problems with such compounds as nitrogen oxides and sulfur oxides. I can say that we have succeeded in our goal of making the emissions from these boilers clean.

I have been heavily involved in technological developments designed to alleviate environmental problems over the past several years, and I believe that Japan is an advanced country when it comes to environmental issues. In fact, I think Japan leads the world in technological terms when it comes to environmental protection.

Overseas, we have provided technical assistance to American companies and have also started joint ventures for securing and ensuring environmental conservation.

We should take countermeasures against carbon dioxide emissions at the earliest possible time so that the substance can be removed to a maximum degree from power-plant emissions, although I don't think carbon dioxide is necessarily directly responsible for health problems in humans. We are determined to play a leadership role in developing technologies to deal with CO₂ emissions, in the same way we

dealt with the problem of sulfur dioxides and nitrogen dioxides, which will surely be welcomed by the global population.

We are also resolved to tackle the issue of effluents discharged from thermal power plants or nuclear plants. This problem is also very important.

I think the most vital issue we now face is figuring out how we can efficiently and effectively convert energy resources into electricity. This is my life's work. Currently I'm involved in our efforts to improve the efficiency of the combined-cycle plant, one of our many ongoing projects. This configuration, which combines gas turbine and steam plants, makes possible fuel savings of 10%. This 10% fuel savings therefore means we can reduce pollution by 10% as well.

We feel that we are the leader when it comes to pollution-control equipment. We've developed air-pollution control systems such as dust collectors; systems to desulfurize and denitrify flue gases; systems such as sewage and sludge-treatment plants to reduce water pollution; as well as solid-waste treatment techniques aimed at effectively utilizing waste materials. We're trying to do more than just control pollution; we want to use resources more efficiently. Mitsubishi Heavy Industries is also active in the field of environmental assessment technology and odor control. So we think we've made many positive contributions to protection of the environment.



Shiro Goshima

Mr. Iida graduated from the technology department of Tokyo Imperial University (now the University of Tokyo) in September 1943, and joined Mitsubishi Heavy Industries the same month. After a career specializing in power systems, he was appointed president of the company in June 1985 and became chairman in June 1989.

ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

"We Don't Think Today's Standards Will Be Suitable in the Future"

—Theodore Stern, Senior Executive Vice President of Westinghouse Electric Corporation



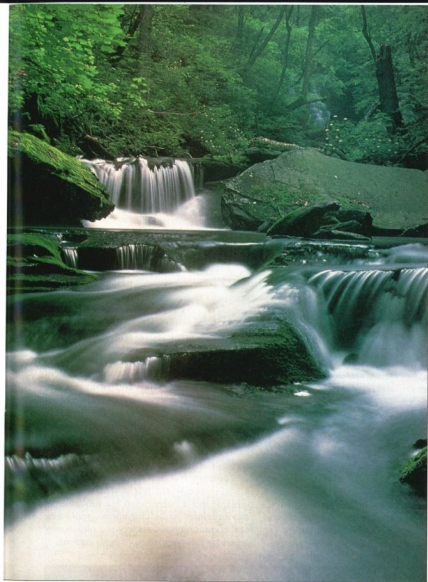
Mr. Stern was named senior executive vice president of Westinghouse Electric Corporation in July 1990. He joined Westinghouse in 1958, and has spent most of his career in the company's nuclear power divisions.

It might appear that corporations' responsibility to the environment can conflict with their obligation to make profits for their shareholders. However, when we take a long-term view of business, there really is no conflict. If we educate people on the environment, then they'll demand products that meet environmental objectives. And if our products meet that demand, then we'll make profits.

Westinghouse is in the business of generating electricity. One of the main ways this is done is by using gas turbines. We're developing improvements in gas turbines that will significantly and cost-effectively reduce their exhaust emissions. We're also developing the ability to use coal cleanly in gas-turbine power plants. We're not doing this to meet today's standards—we're going way beyond them. We don't think today's standards will be suitable

in the future. What we're doing isn't absolutely necessary right now, but we think it will give us a competitive advantage in the future.

Nuclear power plants do not contribute to acid rain or global warming. Yet despite the excellent performance of the U.S. nuclear-power industry, people aren't greeting them with open arms because they're concerned about safety, and maybe more importantly, about the disposal of radioactive waste products. So we're developing a highly simplified nuclear power plant that depends on natural systems instead of mechanical systems. This plant will achieve ultimate safety through the engineered use of natural physical forces, such as gravity, convection, evaporation and natural circulation. And we're doing more than any other private contractor to develop systems to safely store radioactive wastes.



Technology Is Not A Dirty Word.

Technology. It's brought such progress, but at what cost? It's poisoning our environment—a great crisis of our time. This problem is linked to the problem of efficient energy use; to solve one you must solve the other. We're solving both. We've been at it for years, developing some of the most advanced techniques in the world to turn technology inside out. And make it what it ought to be: a clean word that works for the earth.



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*Developing technologies that
work for the earth.*

"The Corporation Should Care About the Community"

—Hiromi Gunji, Chairman of Brother International U.S.A.



Courtesy of Brother Inc.

Mr. Gunji is chairman of the board, chief executive officer and president of Brother International Corporation, the U.S. affiliate of Brother Industries, Ltd. He began his career with Brother Industries in Nagoya in 1964, was named executive vice president of Brother International in 1984, and was appointed to his present position in 1986. He became a director of Brother Industries, Ltd. and its affiliates in 1989.

A corporation's obligation to its community starts with perhaps the broadest community of all, the community of its customers. A corporation is obligated to provide the best possible products and services to its customers. Our parent company in Japan, Brother Industries, Ltd., explicitly recognized this responsibility at its founding. Its primary corporate philosophy was and always has been "Service to society through offering quality products par excellence."

A corporation and community in which it's located have to have a mutually supportive relationship. The corporation draws on the resources of its local community. It gets its employees, housing, police and fire protection, and many other services from that community. It uses the entire infrastructure of the community as its base. Therefore, the corporation should care about the community, encourage its employees to care about the community, and support its employees in becoming better members of the community. And one can extend the definition of "community" in this context to encompass all of society.

Brother International supports a variety of local and national community activities—services, education, sports. We are also active in supporting the arts, which uplift people as individuals and thereby uplift human culture. And we are very proud of the roles that a number of employees play in the community on their own. We encourage more such participa-

tion from all our employees.

It bothers me somewhat to discuss these activities publicly. In my mind, there's a clear dividing line between corporate philanthropy done for public-relations purposes and corporate philanthropy carried on from a sense of responsibility. We do use our support of the U.S. Olympic Program in our advertising. But we don't publicize most of our other community activities. We undertake them out of our own sense of conscience and good citizenship, not to receive applause from anyone.

Brother International has been in the United States for over 35 years, longer than almost all other Japanese companies, and we've had American chief executives for two-thirds of that time. We grew up with the American way of doing things.

I don't believe that there are significant differences in the understanding of corporate citizenship in the United States and Japan. It's just been a matter of getting used to a different set of customs. One difference is that Japanese corporations have historically focused more on the welfare of their employees, American corporations more on the outside community—although corporate philanthropy outside the company has become quite widespread in Japan since World War II. The underlying principle that a corporation has fundamental responsibilities to its customers, employees, local community and society is a philosophy shared by the companies of both nations.

CORPORATE CITIZENSHIP

"Being a Responsible Corporation Means Getting Involved"

—James Joseph, President and CEO of the Council on Foundations

When the Council on Foundations has asked executives why corporations should be good citizens, they've given us a variety of reasons, but fundamentally, they see the health of their communities as being directly tied to the health of their companies. In order to have a healthy company, it's necessary to operate within a healthy community. Anything a corporation does to promote the well-being of its community also contributes directly or indirectly to its bottom line.

Being a responsible corporation means operating in ways that don't damage the environment. It means getting involved in education in the community, and ensuring that there are good health-care facilities in the community. All of these are ultimately in a corporation's own self-interest, but they also serve a public good.

Corporations play very different social roles



Mr. Joseph was U.S. Under Secretary of the Interior from 1977 to 1981. The Council on Foundations is a national organization of more than 1,200 foundations and other grantmakers whose assets total more than \$65 billion.

in Japan and in the United States. In Japan, a corporation is itself a community. Employees develop a sense of loyalty to the corporate community, and the corporation reciprocates (at least in some cases) by ensuring lifetime employment. Corporate citizenship in the United States is focused not so much on the corporation as a community as it is on the corporation's responsibility to the community in which it's located. Consequently, there are some very different practices in the two countries. But as Japanese companies have begun operating in different places around the world, they've found that it's in their own interest to meet the expectations that other peoples have of them as good corporate citizens. And this enlightened self-interest isn't really very different from the reason that American corporations are involved in their communities.

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All of us at Brother look forward to the 1992

Olympics, where once again we'll join the world's top athletes as they strive for excellence. At the Winter Games in Albertville, France, and the Summer Games in Barcelona, Spain, we'll be there to support the contestants—and help them achieve the goal we all share.



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CONCLUSION

A STRONG U.S.-JAPAN RELATIONSHIP MEANS GLOBAL ECONOMIC HEALTH

By Allen Sinai

A cooperative relationship between the United States and Japan is critical to the economic and financial well-being of both nations. Whether we like it or not, we're inextricably linked together economically. Furthermore, with Japan the powerhouse of the Far East and the United States the powerhouse of the Western Hemisphere, our relationship is also essential for the economic health of the world as a whole. This will hold particularly true for the next several years while Germany, the third major engine of the world's economy, is preoccupied with reconstructing the former East Germany—although this may not take as long as many people think.

Exports to the United States have been a major factor in Japan's prosperity. Japan is a small island economy; it will never be fully self-sufficient. It must raise foreign exchange by exporting in order to import materials that it needs to survive (oil, for example). And Southeast Asia, Australia or Europe can't provide the markets for Japanese products that the United States does.

The U.S.-Japan trade relationship is more important to Japan than to the United States, but is still indispensable for the U.S. After Canada, Japan is the second-largest importer of American products, and it represents a potentially far larger market in the future. We already run a trade surplus with Japan in services—education, tourism, fees and royalties.

On the investment side, the United States currently needs Japan more than Japan needs us. Japan is a high-saving country, and hence one of the biggest investors in the world. Japanese investment in American real assets (properties and businesses) has added to U.S. economic growth, especially in recent years. Without Japanese investors purchasing 20% to 30% of the U.S. Treasury securities offered since 1986, our interest rates would have been higher, possibly by as much as half a percentage point.

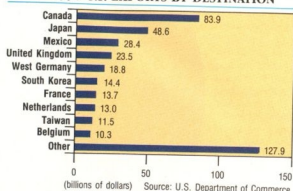
There are some resentments in the United States over Japan's perceived unfairness in our trade relationship. These are based on a combination of reality and misperception. For example, rice is a product for which Japan maintains real import barriers, for cultural and other reasons. On the other hand, Japanese quality standards, which befuddle many Americans because of their detail, are an example of U.S. misperceptions. I think they're reasonable; Japan is a very quality-conscious nation. But when it applies these standards to imports, foreign exporters incorrectly perceive them as an unfair barrier.

Then there are areas where Japanese companies just do a superb job. Automobiles and consumer electronics are good examples. U.S. manufacturers' frustrations may show up as claims of Japanese unfairness, when in fact the Japanese simply make better products at better prices.

On balance, I don't think that American standards of what's "fair" or "unfair" can really be applied to Japan. We're just different. Our cultures are different, our styles are different, our languages are different, what's said and unsaid is different, our planning horizons are different (short-term in the U.S., long-term in Japan). However, this doesn't mean that either country should stop striving to correct what we see as problems in our relationship.

In dealing with a friendly but tough competitor like Japan, the United States has to be a friendly, tough competitor as well. We should take a firm but fair stance in areas where we per-

1990 U.S. EXPORTS BY DESTINATION



ceive an uneven playing field, calling it to the attention of the Japanese, communicating about it, trying to level the field. In some cases, we may find it already more level than we thought. And we should keep in mind that the road to protectionism has never proved beneficial to anyone.

It would make sense for the United States to steer clear of sweeping pronouncements and negotiate trade issues with Japan on a case-by-case basis. A case-by-case approach is more sensitive, more appropriate and more subtle, and its results could be better. But this gradual approach is hard for our government to carry out politically, and politics play a very large role in trade policy.

The process of trying to better our relationship works both ways. Japan is now less hesitant to speak out about some of the problems it sees in its relationship with the United States. This includes the way we run our own businesses, because how well we're doing also affects Japan. Japan has given us some good advice on education, on deficits and debt, on saving more and investing more. We don't seem to have heeded it so far, but this is the kind of advice a friend should give a friend.

My feeling is that Americans should study very carefully how the Japanese do things and learn what we can from them. We should copy what we like in what they do, and not copy what doesn't seem natural and normal for the United States. This is only one way, but a very constructive one, to benefit from our relationship with Japan.

I'm positive about the future of the U.S.-Japan relationship. Despite all of the frictions and frustrations and difficulties, both participants are basically well-meaning, and sincere in our desire to do better. It's in both of our own self-interests to feel this way. Ultimately, that fact will prevail; it's just a matter of time. There are and will be cultural gaps and gaps of understanding between us, but the United States and Japan both have too much at stake economically to let our relationship break down.

Dr. Sinai is executive vice president and chief economist of The Boston Company, Inc. and president and chief executive officer of The Boston Company Economic Advisers, Inc., a wholly owned subsidiary that he founded in 1988. He is well known as a forecaster, educator and econometric model builder, and for his analyses of the factors affecting financial markets, particularly interest rates.

INDIA

Mahatma vs. Rama

How a mild-mannered politician named L.K. Advani is leading a movement that threatens to tear the country apart

By EDWARD W. DESMOND NEW DELHI

In the nearly 44 years since India became independent, one vision of politics and society has reigned supreme. It interweaves two powerful strands: Congress Party leader Jawaharlal Nehru's legacy of a secular, socialist government; and the nonviolence and religious tolerance exemplified by Mahatma Gandhi, the ascetic Hindu champion. In elections concluded late last week, that tradition faces an unprecedented challenge from a movement that proudly proclaims itself to be the antithesis of what Nehru, and to some extent Gandhi, represented. It rejects the "foreign" influences of Islam, Christianity, capitalism and socialism, and aspires to restore *Rama Rajya*, a mythical golden age of Hindu civilization when the Hindu god Rama ruled. In less than two years, the movement's political arm, the Bharatiya Janata Party, led by L.K. Advani, 63, has moved from the margins to the center of Indian politics.

The rise of the Hindu nationalists, like the upsurge of Islamic politics in the Arab world, reflects widespread disillusionment with the leftist political order that dominated the freedom movements in the colonial world after World War II. In India, Advani and other B.J.P. politicians draw huge crowds to hear them rip into the Congress for the billions wasted on unproductive, state-owned industry, the alleged "pampering" of Muslims or the downplaying of Hindu tradition in favor of "pseudo secularism"—their catchall term for Congress politicians who claim to be blind to religion but play to Muslim sentiments. Nehru, Gandhi and Congress still have a legion of defenders, but the tide is not with them. "The existing order is in a state of decomposition," writes Girilal Jain, a former editor of the *Times of India*. "Like the Soviets, we are facing the moment of truth. The Nehru model has exhausted its potential for good."

The B.J.P. has been waiting a long time for that turn of the wheel. The party traces its lineage to the 1920s, when a young doctor named Keshav Baliram Hedgewar

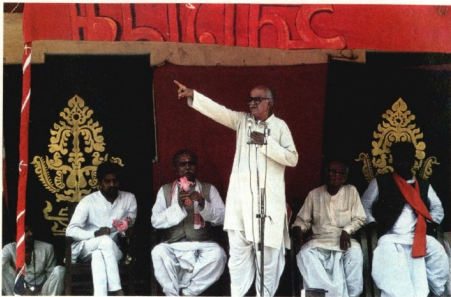
founded the R.S.S., or National Volunteer Corps; its members today form the core of the B.J.P.. Hedgewar believed that divisions of caste, sect and language made Hindu society weak and an easy victim of foreign, especially Muslim, domination.

Hedgewar argued that the only way to restore Hindu vigor was to stir a sense of martial nationalism in Hindus. The R.S.S., which has grown quickly in recent years to nearly 100,000 members, emphasizes fighting arts and militant Hindu pride, choosing as its heroes figures like Shivaji, a 17th cen-

tees stormed the heavily policed mosque, and at least 30 died. The incident sparked Hindu-Muslim riots that left more than 500 dead, the majority of them Muslims.

The B.J.P. uses the Ayodhya issue to stir Hindu anger, but Advani is always careful to stress that he does not advocate violence against Muslims or harsh treatment of any minorities if the B.J.P. comes to power. What the B.J.P. advocates officially seems mild—an end to Muslim personal law in civil matters and restrictions on religious schools for all minorities. But in practice, B.J.P. workers are full of hatred for Muslims and regularly provoke violent confrontations. Says Qari Moinuddin, a Muslim politician in Jaipur: "They meet you on the street and say, 'Long Live Rama!' and if you don't respond, they will kill you, or at least break your head."

To broaden its appeal, the B.J.P. in re-



Wave of the future: Advani stirs a rally of supporters in northeastern India

tury Hindu king who successfully fought the Muslim Mogul emperors.

The B.J.P. has shaped Hedgewar's thoughts into a political juggernaut. Central to their political success is the promotion of Rama, the warrior god of the Hindu *Ramayana* epic, and a dilapidated 16th century mosque in the north Indian town of Ayodhya. The B.J.P. claims the site marks Rama's birthplace but that Mogul rulers destroyed a Hindu temple there and built a mosque in its place. There is no conclusive evidence of that claim, but as a point of Hindu self-esteem, the B.J.P. demands that the mosque be moved and a huge temple to Rama built on the spot. Muslims have resisted that demand, as have all of India's governments to date, providing the B.J.P. with an explosive platform. Last October, Rama's fanatical dev-

cent months has de-emphasized religion. Instead, it has promoted the party as the disciplined, ultra-nationalist remedy for the mounting ailments afflicting India, in particular the secessionist movements in Punjab, Kashmir and Assam and mounting sectarian and political violence. Since Rajiv Gandhi's assassination last month, the B.J.P. has appropriated the Congress slogan of "Stability" and argued that Gandhi's party, without a Nehru scion at the top, has become too shaky to lead India. Said Advani last week: "The B.J.P. appears to the common voter as the only oasis of stability in a scenario where all other parties seem to be on the verge of disintegration." It is up to Indian voters to decide whether the B.J.P. is the new messiah or one of the culprits in the country's instability.

LABOR

Revving Up For a Cleanup?

Prodded by racket busters, America's most notorious union is trucking toward democracy. But will the status quo win the day?

By RICHARD BEHAR

In a fitting stroke of symbolism, next week's Teamsters convention will take place in Orlando instead of its familiar site: Las Vegas—the magic kingdom that was built illegally with the union's money. The Teamsters are putting on a new face. Even the workers at Disney World who walk around wearing Mickey Mouse or Donald Duck or Pluto costumes are card-carrying members of the International Brotherhood. More important, the union is at last cleaning up its act, thanks to the prodding of court-appointed officers who have forced dozens of Mob-connected officials out of the union.

The sweeping change is the result of a deal the government cut with the Teamsters in 1989 to settle a massive racketeering suit alleging that the union's leadership had made a "devil's pact" with the Cosa Nostra. To avoid a costly trial and the threat of a government trusteeship, Teamsters leaders agreed to major reforms. If the Orlando convention follows the new rules, in December the 1.6 million members of the most powerful U.S. union will freely elect their president and 17-member executive board for the first time. That's good news for the rank and file, whose pooh-bahs have been ripping them off for

decades. The bad news is that none of the viable presidential candidates are completely free of old Teamster associations or questionable past performances.

The winner will have the historic challenge of recasting a union that the President's Commission on Organized Crime in 1986 tagged the "most controlled" by the Mafia, notably by New York City's Genovese family. Four of the union's past seven presidents have been indicted on criminal charges; three of them (Dave Beck, James R. Hoffa and Roy Williams) went to prison. "The Teamsters are probably the most Mob-controlled union in the country's history," says Joseph Coffey, a top investigator at the New York State Organized Crime Task Force. "And they could still tie the nation up in knots if they wanted to."

People tend to think only of truckers when they hear the word Teamster, but the union today embraces workers from all walks of life—hospital and brewery laborers, librarians, schoolteachers, even state troopers and sheriff's deputies—in more than 600 locals scattered as far as Guam and the Yukon Territory. Despite a membership erosion caused mostly by trucking deregulation (the Teamsters peaked in 1978 at 2.3 million), the union boasts the largest U.S. political-action committee. Last year it raised \$10.5 million, nearly

twice as much as the runner-up, the American Medical Association. That money buys plenty of political influence. More than half the members of the House of Representatives urged the Justice Department not to file the racketeering suit that paved the way for next week's free convention.

That power has not always translated into prosperity for the workers, whose paychecks did not even keep up with inflation throughout the 1980s as their contracts granted huge concessions to employers. Meanwhile, Teamster leaders enjoyed free rides on four union-owned jets, and more than 150 officers reaped six-figure salaries. Aging Teamster president William (Billy) McCarthy is viewed by many dues-paying members as corrupt and ineffective. "I don't advocate the death penalty for anyone, but I think he should be removed from office," says Susan Jennik, head of the Association for Union Democracy, a reform group that has monitored the Teamsters since 1969.

In settling the racketeering suit two years ago, McCarthy and his cronies agreed to a consent order under which Frederick Lacey, a former federal judge, was assigned as an overseer to remove corrupt officials and lead the way to free elections. Teamster leaders were enjoined from "knowingly associating" with mobsters, but McCarthy was officially



PHOTO BY GUY AROZ/STREET PHOTOGRAPHY

accused in May of bringing reproach upon the union by inviting an embezzler and a Mob-linked Teamster to sit on a convention committee (he withdrew the nominations). Lacey also vetoed a lucrative printing contract that McCarthy had handed to his own son-in-law.

Old-school Teamsters sometimes grumble that McCarthy sold them out to the feds to save his own skin. Maybe so, but he and his cohort have nonetheless spent \$12 million of the union's money to litigate the settlement at each step—even to the point of preventing a court-appointed elections officer from getting office space in their Washington headquarters.

Whichever candidates come out of the convention with 5% or more of the delegate votes will be on the ballot in December for election by the rank and file. (In the past, unrelated delegates chose the president directly.) Of the six men seeking the top spot, only three have reasonable odds. The front runner, R.V. Durham, 59, is a national vice president of the Teamsters who is running with the blessing of McCarthy and a majority of the executive board. "We're attempting to move this union away from the status quo," says Durham.

But Durham is the status quo. Lacey

has barred three other Teamsters from running for lesser posts on Durham's ticket because of Mob ties, embezzlement and failing to take action against corruption. While no one has accused Durham of racketeering, he never challenged the leadership on any issues of principle until the campaign. Earlier this year Durham voted against holding a board meeting (a "kangaroo court," he calls it) to decide whether to investigate McCarthy's involvement in the printing-contract scandal.

The other establishment candidate is Walter Shea, who served as assistant and gatekeeper for four Teamster presidents, including Roy Williams, who admitted to taking orders from the Kansas City Mob. Shea, who was named a defendant in the feds' racketeering case, insists that he did not know about Williams' Mafia ties. Shea has the backing of a faction led by Joseph (Joe T.) Trerotola, a powerful and feared Teamster vice president who was accused last month by a court-appointed officer of failing to investigate allegations that some of his colleagues are Mob-linked. Trerotola is fighting the charges.

The cleanest candidate with a chance of winning the election, though a slight one, is Ronald Carey, president of a United Parcel Service local in Queens, N.Y. Carey is widely regarded as a reformer running with a small power base and a shoestring campaign chest of \$300,000. "The others have access to all the Teamster resources," he gripes. "They could raise \$1 million in one day if they needed to. They think they're in a corporate country club."

Critics, however, insist that Carey stood by while his own local was infiltrated by the Mob. His secretary-treasurer, John Long, was convicted in 1988 for embezzlement (the conviction was reversed on procedural grounds). Carey says he did nothing wrong, but the scandal has raised questions about his ability to monitor underlings. Last month a major reform group, Teamsters for a Democratic Union, was censured for making illegal contributions to Carey's campaign.

The wild card at the convention will be labor lawyer James P. Hoffa, 50, son of the legendary Teamster leader who disappeared in 1975, eight years after he went to jail for jury tampering. A federal judge barred Hoffa last month from running for office because he has held a job "in the craft" for only half of the required two years. Even so, Hoffa aims to line up enough delegate votes to amend the union's constitution to allow him to seek the presidency. Meanwhile, jackets emblazoned with the phrase **FRIENDS OF HOFFA**, the slogan used by his father, have begun spreading across the country.

Hoffa's father may have been a crook, but he looked out for the members' interests (and paychecks) like no Teamster president who followed him. He died, most federal agents believe, because he finally stood up to the Mob after years of acqui-

VILLAIN



UPA/GETTY IMAGES

Union boss William McCarthy is viewed by many dues payers as inept and iniquitous. Old-school Teamsters believe he may have settled with the feds to spare his own hide.

SHINING KNIGHT



JAMES LEEVER FOR TIME

Former Federal Judge Frederick Lacey is the union's court-appointed administrator. "Nobody is more capable," says ex-FBI agent Richard Ross, an expert on Mob racketeering.

FRONT RUNNER



JOANATHAN WINT—GAMMA LIAISON

McCarthy's candidate, R.V. Durham, says the boss's decision to give a contract to his son-in-law was "very poor judgment." Those are perhaps the strongest words Durham can afford to muster.

REFORMER



Ronald Carey says he's endured death threats, poison-pen letters, even a bomb scare. "Of all the candidates, Carey is probably the most legitimate," says Mafia investigator Joseph Coffey.

DARK HORSE



TIMMY YAMASAKI FOR TIME

James P. Hoffa wants delegates to amend the rules to make him eligible. But his refusal to accept the fact that his father answered to the Mob raises questions about his leadership ability.

Business

escing. "When Jimmy Jr. walks out on that floor, there will be a revival that only his father could command," says an FBI agent who is close to the scene. "Just the mention of his charismatic name may generate a groundswell of support."

Hoffa's son has pledged to root out the Mob, and his attacks on the current Teamster leadership have been fiery. But last week Hoffa sounded highly conciliatory as he pondered whether he will have to grovel for support from the Durham or Shea camps for a rules change to allow him to run. "Everyone's heart is in the right place," Hoffa says now about his opponents, sounding more and more like the consummate politician his father was.

One thing that deeply troubles reformers about Hoffa is his unwillingness to accept the evidence that his father was Mobbed, an impediment that raises questions about his ability to see the enemy. "I think

Jimmy Jr. is the best man for this union," says Daniel Sullivan, a union official and a source on the Mafia for the FBI. "But the evidence on his father is overwhelming. He knew how to say no to the Mob, but he just should have started doing it sooner." Hoffa admits that "my father knew some of these guys [mobsters]. But I don't accept any of this stuff about the Mob. I don't have to clear his name. But we have to restore the greatness of the Hoffa years. It was the Mob that killed my father, so I'm dedicated to purging it from the union."

One difficulty in purging organized crime is that the Mob remains very efficient at ironing out labor disputes. In 1986, for example, local Teamster officials brought a beef to former Philadelphia mobster Nicholas ("the Crow") Caramandi. The officials, Caramandi recalls today, were upset because a

Laborers Union local was monopolizing certain work at Philadelphia's Civic Center. The Mob warned the Laborers to back off, and they did. "If they don't listen, you might have to whack [execute] them, maybe throw someone out a window," explains Caramandi, who has since entered the Federal Witness Protection Program.

Even though delegates at next week's convention will have to choose from a slate of flawed candidates, the Teamsters have come a long way in two years. More than 100 leaders have been charged with crimes, and nearly half of them have already quit or been forced out. "I don't think it will ever again be business as usual," says labor reformer Jennik. Or as administrator Lacey puts it, "Who emerges victorious is really not our concern as long as it's done fairly and honestly." In this case, the uncertainty of the outcome is evidence that America's most notorious union is well on the road to democracy. ■

"The Members Have Been Hurt So Badly"

Local 272 of the Teamsters in New York City was a classic case of how the Mob infiltrated the Brotherhood. This local controls the labor at roughly 85% of the city's 900 parking facilities and comprises 4,600 workers, most of them black or Hispanic. After a 20-year reign as the group's president, Cirino (Speed) Salerno was ousted last September by the Teamsters' court-appointed administrator. Salerno, 77, who has been convicted of extortion in the past, is not a "made" Mafia member. But he allegedly diverted union money to his brother Anthony (Fat Tony) Salerno, a former front man of the Genovese clan, who is serving a sentence of 170 years for racketeering and murder.

The garage business was a bonanza for the wise guys. The garage owners allegedly made payoffs to the Mob in exchange for being allowed to cheat employees out of as much as \$70 million in lost wages and benefits. Cirino Salerno made weekly deliveries of cash skimmed from the local to his brother's East Harlem headquarters, according to a former top Genovese soldier, Vincent (Fish) Cafaro. In a 1987 affidavit, Cafaro, now a government witness, claimed that "Speed" had the garage industry "locked up through 'sweetheart contracts' with the owners... If someone buys or builds a garage or parking lot in New York City, you will get a visit from 'Speed.'"

Eugene Bennett, 65, one of the city's few black Teamster leaders, gained control of the local last autumn after a power struggle with Salerno's distant cousin Frank and son Robert, a retired New York City cop. Bennett has investigated and dismantled the union's skimming arrangement, which operated through most of the 1980s. While employers were obligated to make payments on behalf of employees to the local's health



Fat Tony, alleged skimmer

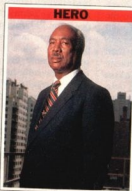
and pension plans, an estimated 1,600 parking-lot attendants were kept out of the union and its funds, Bennett says. The workers, most of them illegal aliens from Central and South America, were paid an illegally low wage of \$4 to \$7 an hour, in violation of union-employer contracts.

Salerno and the garage owners, who apparently faced rising disgruntlement from the underclass they had created, reached a new contract in 1989 that began to treat all workers as union members. But there was a major catch: the new contract designated two classes of employees, "A" workers and "B" workers. The lower class consisted of those who had made no recorded contributions to the local's health and pension plans during the previous three years. They could now legally be paid just \$6 an hour, or \$240 a week, about half the amount that "A" workers received. In essence, says Bennett, those who had been cheated before 1989 were being cheated again by being paid subpar wages as "new" employees.

Last month a group of former illegal aliens filed a class action against garages owned by three major chains. Workers say they were threatened with retaliation just for joining the suit. The garage owners deny all the charges, while a federal grand jury is probing the entire matter.

"I've been in this union 46 years, and the members have been hurt so badly," says Bennett, who will seek a vice-presidential post in Orlando next week. "We have boxes full of heart-breaking stories. We have grown men coming in here and bursting into tears over how they've been cheated. It's an awful thing to see, a working man striving to support his family having to resort to tears."

—By Richard Behar



Bennett, power-struggle victor

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A B L E N D I N G O F A R T A N D M A C H I N E

BANKING

A Trail of Coffee and Cash

The dubious deals of a Jordanian bean merchant illuminate the workings of the corrupt B.C.C.I. empire

By JONATHAN BEATY and S.C. GWYNNE
WASHINGTON

When times were golden for Florida coffee importer Munther Ismael Bilbeisi, he would tell friends his business was so important that the Bank of Credit & Commerce International set up a special branch in Boca Raton just to handle his accounts and those of a few other high rollers. His boast was not unfounded. During the 1980s his Coffee Inc. sold millions of pounds of Central American beans to American buyers. A Mercedes, a Porsche and a Rolls-Royce sat in the driveway of the expatriate Jordanian's \$1.8 million home.

Today Bilbeisi's relationship with the shadowy \$30 billion bank is no longer a source of pride but a vivid page from a worldwide scandal that began with B.C.C.I.'s indictment in 1988 for money laundering. Investigators now view B.C.C.I. as the largest criminal corporate enterprise in modern history, a secret banking network that served drug smugglers, tax evaders, arms dealers and rapacious tyrants, including Panama's Manuel Noriega. Four grand juries are probing the bank, while investigators from the New York district attorney's office, Congress and the Department of Justice are grappling with mountains of seized records. Most prominent among those embroiled in the scandal is former Defense Secretary Clark Clifford. He is chairman of the largest bank in Washington, which was secretly owned by B.C.C.I.

A grand jury is investigating Bilbeisi, and last month a Florida court issued a warrant for his arrest on income tax evasion charges. The eroding fortunes of Bilbeisi and the bank are not coincidental: he was precisely the kind of customer B.C.C.I. sought in its quest to build a global empire. Bilbeisi, who claimed friendship with Jordan's King Hussein, presented a respectable front.

Bilbeisi is also an arms dealer who has peddled used Jordanian and new East European weaponry to South Africa and Latin America under dubious terms. The \$35 million worth of coffee he sold to American companies was contraband smuggled into the U.S. Financing for those deals, including letters of credit and falsified docu-

ments, is the sort of business no legitimate bank would touch, so Bilbeisi needed B.C.C.I. He was happy to kick back cash to his bankers for such services, including the laundering of his gains.

His mistake was to cross swords with Lloyd's of London. When coffee prices plunged in 1986, leaving him exposed, he handed the insurers \$6 million in claims for the alleged theft of a Song dynasty vase and commercial losses on an undocumented coffee shipment. Underwriters refused to pay, so Bilbeisi sued them for punitive damages, prompting Lloyd's to launch a deeper investigation. Result: last December Lloyd's filed a



Bilbeisi mixing work with pleasure while cutting a deal in London in 1979

civil racketeering suit against Bilbeisi and B.C.C.I., charging the two with a long list of illegal acts, including coffee smuggling, arms dealing, customs violations, money laundering and paying bribes and kickbacks. That suit was followed by the grand jury investigation into charges by the IRS that Bilbeisi cheated on his taxes as well.

Bilbeisi's smuggling scheme, undetected by U.S. authorities, began with bribes to coffee growers in Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador to obtain beans not subject to tariff agreements. The coffee, available at bargain rates, was ostensibly for domestic consumption or export to nonaffiliated nations. To move the contraband through Central America, Bilbeisi's agents, financed by B.C.C.I. letters of credit, paid bribes to truckers, checkpoint officials and port officials. The coffee was marked for delivery to Jordan or Syria but was routed through Miami or New Orleans, where it

was secretly off-loaded. Former U.S. shipping agents who testified before the Florida grand jury told TIME they accepted \$4.5 million in bribes from Bilbeisi for providing phony cargo manifests to fool U.S. customs officials. The shipping agents say they were able to dodge U.S. taxes because B.C.C.I. created false loans and transfers, then deposited the bribes in secret accounts in London.

The Bilbeisi scheme reaches into corporate America as well. The grand jury is investigating Arthur Berman, who was president of Chase & Sanborn in 1981-84 and Chock Full o' Nuts in 1984-85. The Lloyd's lawsuit contends that the executive, knowing the coffee was smuggled, accepted "substantial commissions" from Bilbeisi and Coffee Inc. to facilitate sales to Chase & Sanborn and Chock Full o' Nuts. Bilbeisi's company ledgers show \$160,000 in cash and checks paid to Berman. In a 1988 deposition, Berman denied the payments were illegal commissions, insisting they were merely loans that he used to support "a young lady" and pay gambling debts.

Lloyd's investigators have also probed Bilbeisi's role as an arms broker. In one transaction Bilbeisi proposed the sale of U.S.-built Jordanian fighter jets and helicopters to Guatemala. According to documents from a Bilbeisi company, three helicopters were delivered at hugely inflated prices, and part of the proceeds was kicked back to high-ranking Guatemalan officers and the brother of former President Vinicio Cerezo. B.C.C.I. financed the deal for a \$400,000 commission. Guatemala has brought criminal charges against Bilbeisi, and is seeking his extradition from Jordan.

Meanwhile B.C.C.I.'s far-flung empire is imploding. According to investigators, as much as \$10 billion is missing from the company's books. Sheik Zayed bin Sultan al-Nahayan, the ruler of Abu Dhabi, has pumped in \$1 billion to keep the bank afloat since taking it over last year and has dismissed hundreds of the Pakistani bankers who ran B.C.C.I. in its heyday. Abu Dhabi, the Bank of England and the Federal Reserve are struggling to come up with a workable restructuring plan that will satisfy regulators amid continuing disclosures of illicit banking activity.

B.C.C.I.'s banking practice throughout the world was to co-opt government officials and influential businessmen with bribes, contributions and stakes in lucrative but dubious deals. Agents now sifting through B.C.C.I. records are learning that America was no exception.

BUSINESS NOTES

FINANCIAL FIASCOES

A Mess Beyond Our Measure

If you thought the savings and loan disaster couldn't get much worse, well, think again. In the gloomiest assessment of the megamess yet, U.S. Comptroller General Charles Bowsher said last week the Resolution Trust Corporation, which is handling the bailout, was in such disarray that government accountants cannot even audit its books. That means Washington has no clear idea of how much the bailout will ultimately cost as the RTC shuts more than 1,000 bankrupt S&Ls and sells off real estate and other assets.

There is little doubt, however, that the price tag is going up. While the Bush Administration has earmarked \$130 billion for the bailout, Bowsher said the RTC will require at least \$150 billion as depressed real estate markets slash the value of RTC holdings. When interest charges are included, the final cost of the cleanup could approach \$500 billion over the next 40 years.

Bowsher warned that taxpayers may also have to bail out the banking industry if Washington cannot agree on how to replenish the dwindling Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation fund. It could lose more than \$23 billion over the next two years as the commercial real estate depression causes hundreds of shaky banks to fail. ■

NEW PRODUCTS

Fake Fat Of the Land



Stellar is derived from corn



Birkenstocks: sales of the sandals are expected to reach 1.4 million

COMEBACKS

Soles from The '70s

Remember Birkenstocks, those clunky but comfy sandal-shoes so ubiquitous in the '70s? Their time has come again. Updated with slightly sleeker styling and trendy materials like black patent leather, the shoes have increased in sales 30% during each of the past three years. This year Birkenstock Footprint Sandals expects a 40% increase, to about 1.4 million pairs. They are still made with layers of suede, jute and cork, with the sole contoured to the natural shape of the foot and a shock-absorbent foot bed.

Prices range from \$50 to \$130 for adult sizes.

Birkenstocks were introduced to the U.S. after Californian Margot Fraser discovered them during a trip to her native Germany in 1966. Undaunted by U.S. shoe-store owners who told her no woman would wear such homely shoes, she persisted by selling them mostly through health-food stores. Before long, they became an essential part of the hip uniform of the '70s. But unlike some other foot-friendly footwear of that era (remember Earth shoes?), they never really went away. Birkenstock kept its loyal following and diversified by bringing out men's and children's models. ■

Will the diet-crazed country that embraced artificial sweeteners now accept phony fats? Some of America's biggest food firms are betting heavily on it. The latest entrant is A.E. Staley Manufacturing of Decatur, Ill., which last week served up Stellar, a product derived from corn. At a promotional buffet of Stellar-based margarine and cheese spreads, Staley said the reduced-calorie faux fat will be available early next year to food producers, who can use it to replace from 60% to 100% of the fat in such items as salad dressing, baked goods, meat products, soups, gravies and sauces.

Since Stellar is based on simple starch, it can be marketed without obtaining approval from the Food and Drug Administration. The product is the first serious competitor to Nutrasweet's dairy-derived Simplesse, which simulates high-fat flavor and "mouth-feel" in the company's Simple Pleasures frozen dessert by mimicking the shape of fat particles.

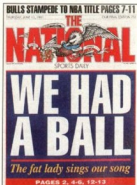
Still waiting for the FDA's approval: Kraft General Foods' Trailblazer for frozen desserts and Procter & Gamble's Olestra for fat-free deep frying. ■

NEWSPAPERS

The Game Ended Fast

Like a brash rookie slugger who can't handle big-league curves, the *National* sports daily struck out last week. The flashy tabloid, owned by Mexican media mogul Emilio Azcárraga Milmo, never really connected with readers and advertisers, and it lost \$100 million in just 17 months of publication. Its problems were compounded by "an economic climate that was getting worse and worse," said editor and publisher Frank Deford. Declaring *WE HAD A BALL* on its final front page, the first U.S. daily devoted entirely to sports printed its final edition last Thursday.

While it aimed for a circulation of 1 million by the end of the year, the *National* was selling only 200,000 copies when it folded. Circulation had climbed to nearly 250,000 but tumbled in January when the paper raised its price from 50¢ to 75¢ a copy in an effort to reduce



But losses reached \$100 million

its losses. "The *National* was founded in the belief that it could feed off the soaring interest in sports," said John Morton, a newspaper analyst in Washington. But local newspapers, all-sports TV channels and other media already saturated sports events, Morton said. Azcárraga, whose holdings include Televisa, Mexico's largest private TV network, will now focus on expanding its Spanish-language programming in the U.S. ■

GULLEY HANAUER/AP



Mount Pinatubo shot plumes of steam and ash 30 km (20 miles) into the sky

What Makes Them Blow

Advance warnings of volcanic blasts in the Philippines and Japan show how researchers are getting the knack of predicting eruptions

By J. MADELEINE NASH CHICAGO

When 15,000 anxious Americans were evacuated from Clark Air Base in the Philippines last week, they didn't know what to think. Were they in real danger or the victims of a false alarm? Within 48 hours, they got their answer. Nearby Mount Pinatubo, after sleeping quietly for more than 600 years, suddenly erupted in a series of explosions that shot plumes of steam and ash as much as 30 km (20 miles) into the sky. Debris rained down on surrounding villages, and a giant mushroom cloud was visible 100 km (60 miles) away in Manila.

The confirmed death toll was only six in the first few days, thanks to advance warnings and speedy evacuations. But great dangers remained. Fearing bigger explosions, officials ordered tens of thousands evacuated. An approaching typhoon, moreover, threatened to send destructive mudslides down the mountain. Whatever happens, the swift action by the government reflected the improving ability of scientists to monitor volcanic activity and identify the telltale events that presage eruptions.

Mount Pinatubo's blasts came just one week after Japan's Mount Unzen blew its top, with more deadly results. The red-hot avalanches hurtling down the mountain's slopes killed at least 35 people. But the toll could have been much higher if scientists had not sounded the alarm that an eruption was imminent. In fact, many of those killed were journalists and volcanologists drawn to the mountain by the warnings, whereas most residents of the area fled to safety. They may have to stay away for a long while: Mount Unzen erupted again last week, and the worst may not be over. A

series of blasts from the mountain in 1792 created landslides and tidal waves that killed 15,000 people.

Both Pinatubo and Unzen lie along the infamous Ring of Fire, a crescent of volcanic activity that runs around the rim of the Pacific Ocean through the edges of Asia, North America and South America. Washington's Mount St. Helens, which exploded spectacularly in 1980, is part of the ring. It contains three-quarters of the earth's 540 historically active volcanoes. Since such mountains are erupting in one place or another almost all the time, it is merely a coincidence that Pinatubo and Unzen are exploding simultaneously.

The number of eruptions these days is not abnormal, but human populations near the fiery mountains have been growing rapidly. Never before have the volcanoes posed such a serious threat. Some volcanologists believe, for example, that Mount Fuji has entered an active phase, raising the specter of a giant eruption only 100 km (62 miles) from Tokyo.

But scientists hope to forestall most major eruptions, and their record is increasingly impressive. Since 1980, Mount St. Helens has erupted 22 times, and 19 of those episodes were predicted by U.S. Geological Survey volcanologists at the Cascades Volcano Observatory, in Vancouver, Wash. Warnings have also preceded eruptions of Alaska's Redoubt Volcano, which roared to life in 1989.

Unlike earthquakes, which often happen without warning, impending volcanic eruptions generally signal their arrival. Before a blowup, instruments can detect a series of tremors in the mountain, which indi-



A fire fighter runs for his life as Mount Unzen reawakens

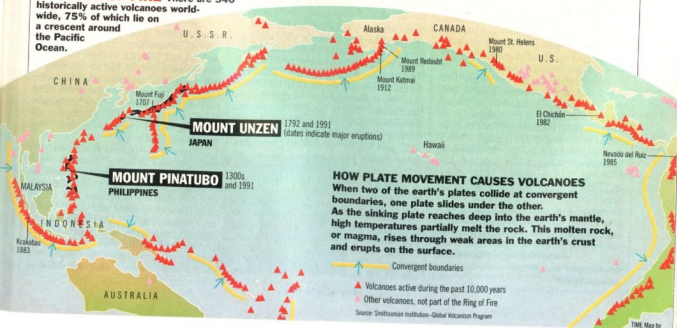
cate that molten rock, called magma, is coming up from deep inside the earth. The magma rises gradually, opening fissures that serve as its pipelines to the surface. What happens next depends on the composition of the magma. If it is fairly liquid, it generally produces a stately lava flow that poses more of a threat to property than to humans. Hawaiian volcanoes tend to follow this pattern.

But the volcanoes clustered along the Ring of Fire are more dangerous. The ring traces a geologically active zone where sections of the earth's crust, known as plates, are colliding. Generally the weaker oceanic plates are forced beneath the thicker continental slabs. The friction of grinding rock, combined with heat welling up from the earth's interior, transmutes the lower edge of the oceanic plate into magma. Thick with silica, this type of magma tends to solidify near the surface, forming domes and plugs that seal off the channels through which the magma rises. Such blockages turn a volcano into a giant pressure cooker. At a certain point, when the surrounding rock is no longer strong enough to hold the expanding magma, the mountain blows apart.

The main tools of the volcanologist include seismometers, which record the swarms of tiny earthquakes that occur as the magma rises. Chemical sensors, mounted on airplanes, can detect increases in sulfur-dioxide emissions, indicating that magma has reached the surface. In addition, the physical swelling of mountain slopes, well documented at Mount St. Helens, is a sign of explosive potential. Laser-based devices can pick up minute bulges that are about the width of a nickel and still invisible to the naked eye. In Japan researchers have set up video cameras to monitor the shape and color of fumes at 19 of the country's most worrisome volcanoes.

The Japanese have donated instruments that will enable Mexico to keep a closer watch on Popocatepetl near Mexico City. And shortly after Pinatubo first showed signs

THE RING OF FIRE There are 540 historically active volcanoes worldwide, 75% of which lie on a crescent around the Pacific Ocean.



HOW PLATE MOVEMENT CAUSES VOLCANOES

When two of the earth's plates collide at convergent boundaries, one plate slides under the other. As the sinking plate reaches deep into the earth's mantle, high temperatures partially melt the rock. This molten rock, or magma, rises through weak areas in the earth's crust and erupts on the surface.

Convergent boundaries

- ▲ Volcanoes active during the past 10,000 years
- ▲ Other volcanoes, not part of the Ring of Fire

Source: Smithsonian Institution-Global Volcanism Program

TIME Map by

of activity in April, the U.S. Geological Survey sent to the Philippines a team of scientists equipped with seismometers, tiltmeters (to measure tiny shifts in the slope of the mountain) and laptop computers to collect and analyze data. Several of the instruments, however, were obliterated by last week's eruptions, hampering efforts to figure out the volcano's next gambit.

Is all this complex gear necessary? After all, Indonesian volcanologists have established a warning system that makes effective use of dedicated, if often poorly equipped, human observers. The answer is that the better scientists get at predicting eruptions, the less chance of false alarms. In 1976, 72,000 residents of the Caribbean island of Guadeloupe were forced to leave their homes because a nearby volcano seemed about to blow. Several months later, after no eruption occurred, the considerably discomfited evacuees returned home. And ever since 1980, the California resort area of Mammoth Lakes has fretted over recurrent clusters of small earthquakes. The resort abuts a huge depression caused hundreds of thousands of years ago by an exploding volcano. "What the earthquakes mean is that the volcanic system is still alive and dynamic," notes Robert Tilling of the U.S. Geological Survey. "But we don't know enough yet to be able to predict if, or when, it might again explode."

One of Tilling's colleagues, geophysicist Bernard Chouet, believes he may have found an answer to this dilemma. Prior to many large-scale eruptions, he says, seismometers have picked up tremors that appear to be caused, not by the fracturing of rock, but by low-frequency waves that resonate through the magma itself. While their origin remains a mystery, these vibrations may result from small surges of gas and molten rock. Large numbers of such signals preceded Mount St. Helens' 1980 blast. They also appeared before the unexpected explosion of Mexico's El Chichón in 1982, the blowup of Colombia's Nevado del Ruiz in 1985 and 1987 and multiple eruptions of Alaska's Redoubt. Seismometers positioned at Pinatubo have recorded similar seismic patterns.

The greatest threats to human lives may come from overlooked, long dormant volcanoes. To monitor a volcano requires identifying it beforehand; as recently as 1981, Pinatubo was not even included in the worldwide registry of volcanoes maintained by the Smithsonian Institution. "When a nice little hill covered with lush vegetation finally wakes up," observes Smithsonian volcanologist Tom Simkin, "it's going to cause a lot of damage." Fortunately, scientists were able to see that some nice little hills in the Philippines and Japan were turning nasty while people still had time to get away.

—With reporting by Seichi Kanise/ Tokyo, Laura Lopez/Mexico City and Nelly Sindayen/Manila

Medicine

Returning Fire Against AIDS

Could giving a vaccine to people after they are infected keep the virus from destroying the immune system?

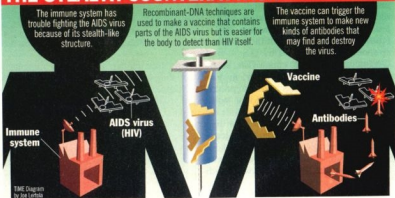
Even if an effective AIDS vaccine were discovered tomorrow, its development would presumably be of little benefit to the 3 million to 5 million people around the globe who already harbor the virus in their body. Most vaccines work to prevent an infection, not to eliminate it after it has taken hold. Now, however, a group of scientists from the Walter Reed Army Institute of Research in Rockville, Md., believe they may have found a retroactive vaccine. In a study published in last week's *New England Journal of Medicine*, the team announced that repeated immunizations with a genetically engineered AIDS vaccine appeared to stabilize and perhaps even boost the beleaguered immune system of some infected people.

The results are preliminary: only 30 patients took part in the experiment, which

tem's radar screen. As a result, the body may not manufacture all the different kinds of antibodies that could attack the virus. "We thought that if we could make the virus in a slightly different way, the immune system could see it better and mount a more effective response," Redfield says. "In other words, we'd be augmenting Mother Nature's own strategy."

To achieve that goal, the researchers chose a vaccine, manufactured by MicroGeneSys of Meriden, Conn., that consists of genetically engineered pieces of the virus. The vaccine makers took strands of DNA that code for the outer covering of HIV and put them into another kind of virus, one that infects only moths and butterflies. The insect virus then produced AIDS proteins in addition to its own.

THE STEALTH COUNTERATTACK



lasted a scant 10 months. All the subjects appeared healthy to begin with and had been host to the virus for less than seven years. Yet even if this vaccine never helps a single person with full-fledged AIDS, the Walter Reed team has sketched out a blueprint for a potential new weapon against the disease. "This is the first time anyone has proved that you can change the immune system in a chronically infected person," says Dr. Robert Redfield, research-group leader. "Now we have to find out whether or not this makes a difference."

Scientists know that the body puts up a pretty good fight against the AIDS virus (HIV) in the early years of infection. But the great mystery has always been why the body cannot knock HIV out completely. One possibility is that the body has trouble "seeing" all of the virus. Like a Stealth fighter plane, HIV may have hidden parts that do not show up on the immune sys-

The researchers injected these artificial AIDS proteins into 30 human test subjects. In 19 of the volunteers, the proteins apparently looked different enough from what their immune systems had already seen so that additional defensive reactions were triggered against HIV. Not only did these patients produce entirely new antibodies, but the number of their T cells, the key immune defenders the virus normally destroys, remained steady.

"From a conceptual standpoint, the study is quite interesting," says Dr. Anthony Fauci, director of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases. But he cautions that any dangerous side effects from the vaccine could take years to show up. Even so, the preliminary effects were intriguing enough that Redfield has begun a second trial—with results expected in 18 months—to see if the vaccine can produce long-lasting benefits. —By Christine Gorman

Health

Life in The Age Of Lyme

As the disease spreads, many scared Americans have declared war on ticks. Summer may never be the same.

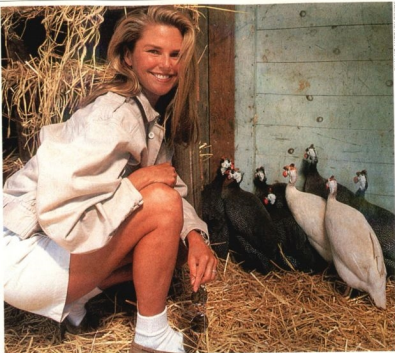
By JOHN SKOW

Guinea hens are bald, wattled and graceless. They resemble feathered footballs. Worse, they are surly, loud and unmusical, often at 3 in the morning. But they are voracious gobblers of bugs and are especially fond of the tiny deer ticks that carry the spirochetes of Lyme disease. Which is why model Christie Brinkley, SPORTS ILLUSTRATED's swimsuit sweetie some years ago, learned to love them. She has installed a flock on her estate in East Hampton, N.Y., and hands out chicks (called keets) to her neighbors.

Before she got the hens, Brinkley had taken to wearing high fishing boots when she walked to the beach. "We were really infested," she says. "It seemed as if every blade of grass had a tick hanging off it." Her hen patrol has reduced the local tick population, although that has not prevented her from contracting the tormenting ailment that she and millions of other householders routinely take elaborate pains to avoid. The tick that infected her with what was diagnosed last week as Lyme disease probably, she thinks, bit her while she was horseback riding.

Fear of Lyme disease is justified, and harboring guinea hens is reasonable, if not terribly practical for most people. The nagging affliction often shows itself first as a rash and flu-like nausea, fever and aches. Lyme mimics many other illnesses, and in later stages it can escalate to arthritis, meningitis, neurological damage and sometimes physical debility and racking pain. Some 30,000 cases had been reported in the U.S. by the end of last year. From 1986 through 1989, reported cases doubled each year, and a slight drop last year (7,995 cases, from 8,551 the year before) may reflect only a change in reporting criteria.

Thus when the U.S. Centers for Disease Control advises that anyone walking through grass or brush in tick-infested



Tick-besieged Brinkley shows off her hen patrol at her Long Island home

areas wear long-sleeved shirts and long pants taped into sock tops, many people actually do it, though the fashion statement is irredeemably tacky. The meticulous daily body inspection that is the most effective preventive is now a normal routine, like flossing teeth. What you are looking for is the nymphal stage of an arachnid (not an insect) that is louse-size only as an adult and that as a nymph has been compared to a dark freckle. Where you are looking is behind the knees, in pubic and scalp hair, under watchbands, in armpits. Yes, you need a partner for this, and perhaps, if you are no longer 25, a stiff drink.

Old Lyme, Conn., got an undeserved reputation as a pesthole when the disease later named for it was first identified there in 1975. But it is unlikely that the disease really was newly hatched in that area. Decades earlier, on Long Island in New York, a pesky swelling called Montauk knee was causing trouble. In 1908 something indistinguishable from Lyme disease was described in Sweden. Ticks hitch rides not just on deer, mice, humans and other mammals, but also on birds, which helps explain why Lyme disease has been reported in 46

states. (Only Alaska, Arizona, Montana and Nebraska have reported no cases.)

White-tailed deer are suburban creatures, and a surge in the deer population as forests have regrown in the Northeast offers one reason that Lyme disease has hit hard in New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Pennsylvania and lower New England. Wisconsin and Minnesota have had smaller outbreaks, and so, though the ticks are a different species, has Northern California.

A fairly effective control method for a limited area is a product called Daminex, which is a tube filled with pesticide-soaked cotton. Mice take the cotton to build nests, and the pesticide kills ticks. On Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, scientists are planning to release large numbers of a tiny wasp called *Hunterellus hookeri*. Success is uncertain. The wasps do kill some tick nymphs, but may in fact need a large and healthy tick population to maintain their own numbers. Other drastic preventives that householders mutter about while untaping their trousers—region-wide burning of fields, pesticide spraying or slaughter of deer—are just not politically or environmentally feasible.

STRATEGIES TO THWART THE TICK

- Raise tick-eating guinea hens but be prepared for the neighbors' complaints about your noisy flock. Persuade them to take some hens for their yards.
- Keep the lawn cut short and shrubbery to a minimum, making it harder for tick-toting rodents to hide on your turf.
- If you must walk in the woods, where most ticks live, wear long pants and sleeves, if you can stand the heat, or spray on tick repellent, if you don't mind chemicals seeping into your skin.
- Subject yourself and your kids to a nightly tick inspection. You usually have at least 12 hours to get ticks off before they infect you.



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NYSE:ETN

Sport

Yo, Michael! You're the Best!

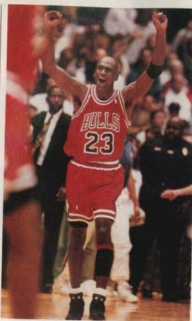
Jordan rises—and rises—to the occasion, removing the last shadow of imperfection from his peerless career

Modern life suffers from the Mona Lisa complex, the idea that when you finally see a legendary work of art, it inevitably disappoints, appearing somehow smaller and less awe inspiring than you had imagined it. Except Michael Jordan.

Jordan, whose gleaming visage is probably more familiar to American kids than that of Leonardo's lady, is an icon that grows more revered by the day. Millions more people have seen him pushing Nike Air Jordans, Pepsi and Wheaties than performing magic—make that outperforming Magic—on a basketball court. But all the commercial hype and publicity fade away when he *does* play, for Michael Jordan is the artwork and the artist, the poem and the poet. He reinvents the sport every time he rises—and rises—into the air. He plays the game without cliché.

When Jordan led the Chicago Bulls to their first N.B.A. championship last week in a lopsided 4-1 series against the Los Angeles Lakers, he removed the last shadow on a peerless career: the notion that great players who never win a title are somehow less great than those who do. In truth, brilliant individual players are not always brilliant team players, and that is why their teams do not always win championships. But in conquering the Lakers, Jordan did the very thing that is often hardest for a virtuoso talent: he used his genius to raise the talents of those around him.

Countless odes have been sung to Jordan's uncanny, unearthly, preternatural ability to defy gravity. Rightly so, for air-



The consummate player in the final game

borne wizardry is what makes Jordan the apotheosis of the playground player, the supreme performer who unites hard-court fundamentals with the improvisational creativity of the backstop. Pardon the pretentiousness, but Jordan's artistry fuses the classic and the romantic.

But amid the oohing and aahing over

his impossible dunks, something important is usually overlooked: Jordan's passing. In the grammar of basketball, passes are verbs. More than that, passing is a form of altruism, the unselfishness that transforms an agglomeration of individuals into a cohesive unit. Superb offensive players are rarely good passers. They appear narcissistic, locked inside their own talent. Elgin Baylor, Earl Monroe, Jerry West, Julius Erving often seemed alone on the court with the ball, solo artists in a team sport.

Jordan showed that he is much more. In the final minutes of last week's final game, it was Michael's sharp assists to guard John Paxson, not his 30 spectacular points, that won the day and the series. Jordan's passing violates two sacrosanct rules: don't go up in the air unless you know what you're going to do there, and don't throw the ball crosscourt. Jordan invariably found the open man because he has a map of the court and all its players inside his head (he majored in geography at North Carolina). He knows that a pass to someone less strong can make the team stronger.

Yet when you are an unstoppable force in basketball, selfishness too is a virtue. Jordan also knows this, and that is why he stopped and popped with 3.4 seconds left in Game 3 to tip the contest into overtime. That is what the best player in the game is supposed to do.

Like Leonardo, Michael Jordan is now his own greatest competition. When you make the miraculous routine, the merely superb becomes ordinary. Audiences feel cheated unless Jordan pulls off one of those twisting, soaring dunks that are living proof of post-Newtonian physics. Now that he has won an N.B.A. championship, he doesn't really have anything left to prove—except, of course, that he can do it again.

—By Richard Stengel

Milestones

MARRIED. Bruce Springsteen, 41, raspy-voiced rocker; and Patti Scialfa, 37, singer and tambourine player in his defunct E Street Band; he for the second time, she for the first; in Los Angeles. Their son, Evan, will be a year old next month.

RECOVERING. King Hussein, 55, Jordan's monarch since 1952; from an irregular heartbeat; in Amman. Hussein, who was hospitalized for three days, has a history of heart trouble.

RECOVERING. Howard Cosell, 73, brash sportscaster known for "telling it like it is"; after surgical removal of a cancerous tumor from his chest; in New York City.

DIED. Peggy Ashcroft, 83, revered British stage and film actress; in London. Dame

Peggy was internationally known for playing Barbie Batchelor, the retired missionary in the television series *The Jewel in the Crown*, and for winning an Oscar as Best Supporting Actress for her role as the mysterious traveler Mrs. Moore in David Lean's *A Passage to India*.

DIED. Claudio Arrau, 88, one of the premier piano virtuosos of the 20th century; in Mürtzschlag, Austria. Born in Chillán in central Chile in 1903, Arrau displayed the talents of a prodigy four years later by playing from memory pieces his mother had taught to her piano students. By age five he presented his first concert, of Mozart, Beethoven and Schumann. For the next eight decades the pianist would dazzle audiences worldwide with a unique blend of brute strength and introspective clarity. Critics

hailed his performances of Liszt, Chopin, Brahms and Debussy.

DIED. J. Raymond Jones, 91, political king-maker known as the "Harlem Fox"; in New York City. The first black to head Tammany Hall, Jones ran the powerful Democratic machine from 1964 to 1967. He was a mentor to New York Congressman Charles Rangel and New York City Mayor David Dinkins.

DIED. A.B. ("Happy") Chandler, 92, former Kentucky Governor, U.S. Senator and baseball commissioner from 1945 to 1951, who helped break the color bar by supporting the Brooklyn Dodgers' decision to bring Jackie Robinson into the major leagues; in Versailles, Ky. He was elected to the Baseball Hall of Fame in 1982.

What Does God Really Think About Sex?

Christians of all sorts are battling over the issues of homosexuality, infidelity and fornication

By RICHARD N. OSTLING

"I am disgusted." "An abomination." "This report would remove the Bible as the authoritative Word of God, making it merely a guidebook." One after another, participants at the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) rose in the Baltimore Convention Center to attack one of the most radical series of proposals on sexual morality ever to come before a major Christian denomination. In essence, the church report, three years in preparation, shattered 19 centuries of tradition and asked the church, for the first time, to bestow acceptance upon sex outside of marriage—for homosexuals, for adult singles living together and, with less enthusiasm, for teenagers. Adultery would be next, critics charged.

No chance of that. By a 534-to-31 vote the Presbyterians last week rejected the controversial report. They also issued an outright disavowal of the practice of homosexuality and affirmed "the sanctity of the marital covenant between one man and one woman." But the raucous debate that led up to the vote, and that will surely follow it, showed that three decades after the sexual revolution started to percolate

through American society, the relationship between God and sex is again throwing some of the country's most important religious denominations into turmoil.

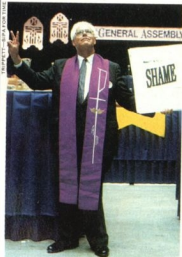
Traditionalists are facing off against liberals, married worshipers against singles, homosexuals against heterosexuals, as the churches try to come to grips with the changing life-styles of their adherents. Just as important, liberals in various denominations are struggling to deal with the sexual preference and morality of those who are no longer attending services, convinced that the churches do not speak to their private needs. Among the imminent sexual confrontations:

- United Church of Christ (1.6 million members). Next week's national synod will discuss how to deal with clergy who are involved in nonmarital relations.
- Episcopal Church (2.4 million members). In July a national convention will decide between two conflicting proposals on homosexuality. One would allow ordination of actively gay and lesbian priests by local bishops, a practice that is already occurring. The other would explicitly ban nonmarital sex by all clergy.

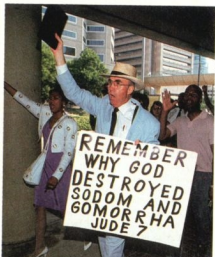
Questions asked of people who worship:

FREQUENTLY	%
RARELY	%

Is it always wrong for... **...an unmarried adult to have sex?**
39% YES 12%



A clergyman interrupts a sermon at the General Assembly to support the report



Outside: Fundamentalist pickets denounce Body and Soul's revolutionary proposals

- United Methodist Church (8.9 million members). A special panel will issue a report in August on whether the church should continue to declare that homosexual practice violates Christian teaching. An April straw vote indicated that most of the 24 panelists want a change.
 - Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (5.2 million members). The first draft of a proposed new stand on sexual issues like homosexuality and chastity is due next fall. There are early rumblings that the draft might seek reinterpretation of Bible passages dealing with sex.
 - American Baptist Churches (1.5 million members). This denomination will decide at next week's convention whether to develop a policy statement on sexuality, with specific issues to be defined later.
 - Roman Catholic Church (58 million members). America's biggest denomination is also caught in the debate because of members' continuing resistance to Vatican stands on such matters as homosexuality and premarital sex. Two special problems: allegations that many priests break the celibacy rule, and a recent outbreak of pederasty scandals.
- The tenet that sex should be confined to marriage is an age-old one inherited from Judaism. It is under assault because of the pressures of modern reality: the sexual precocity of young Americans, the large number of divorced or unmarried adults who have active sex lives, and the growing strength of the gay-rights movement. The issues are hitting hardest at the moderate and liberal "mainline" Protes-



...an unmarried teenager to have sex?

65% YES 33%

...a married person to have sex with someone other than his or her spouse?

92% YES 82%



tant denominations that stress toleration and follow social currents. These groups, which have been steadily losing membership, could face further attrition, even outright schism, over sex.

The churches for years have also been under increasing scholarly pressure to treat traditional understandings of Scripture as cultural expressions, subject to change, rather than as God's eternal strictures. Another important factor is the intellectual influence of feminist groups that see traditional Judeo-Christian morality as an expression of patriarchy. In addition, a trend has been emerging in modern moral theology to base judgments concerning sexuality not on absolute rules but on the relative value of each relationship. This approach was promoted as early as 1966 by Episcopal theologian Joseph Fletcher's *Situation Ethics: The New Morality*. Among the denominations where the pressures are highest:

PRESBYTERIANS

The 2.9 million-member denomination was the first to face the full implications of the sexual revolution. As far back as 1970, a church panel, echoing Fletcher's approach, declared that "sexual expression ... cannot be confined to the married and about-to-be-married." Irate traditionalists got that year's assembly to reaffirm the sinfulness of adultery, fornication and homosexual practice, but their motion passed by a paper-thin margin.

Since then the Northern and Southern wings of the church have merged, but liberal-conservative differences have continued

to simmer. This year's controversial 200-page morality report, *Keeping Body and Soul Together*, emanated from an official study committee under the Rev. John Carey, religion chair at Agnes Scott College in Georgia. Two members quit early, and one raised charges that the panel was stacked with liberals.

When the document was released last February, it was read avidly—more than 42,000 copies have been sold—and with growing ire. Before the Baltimore assembly, more than half the church's 171 administrative districts and 2,000 local congregations had condemned it. The document helped cause something akin to schism at the second largest congregation in the country: Dallas' Highland Park Presbyterian Church. Already alarmed at liberal trends among the national leadership, Highland Park members voted 2,563 to 2,001 last month to quit the denomination altogether. They fell short of a required two-thirds majority, so the church and its \$47 million property remain within the official fold. But 1,000 or more dissenters walked out to start a new congregation. Joining them is physician Grady Crossland, who served on the *Body and Soul* panel and opposed its work. "The denomination is rotten," he snaps. "No use staying around to shoot a rabid dog."

His reaction is typical of the strong feelings roused by the sweeping revisionism of *Body and Soul*. Among other things, it declares that "there is no single, consistent biblical ethic of sexuality" and instructs the church to "repent" its oppres-

Presbyterian General Assembly in session: more raucous debate will surely follow

sive morality, which the document deems to be the work of white patriarchal "heterosexuals." Forget "rules about who sleeps with whom," it urges, and do not "restrict sexual activity to marriage alone," but celebrate all forms of sexual intimacy, "marital, premarital or postmarital."

Body and Soul is most unorthodox in condoning sex among unmarried heterosexuals. It states that the church should no longer insist on celibacy as "the only moral option for single persons."

On the delicate topic of teenage sex, the document advises youngsters to make decisions on the basis of "mutuality," "consent" and "maturity." Marilyn Washburn, a clergywoman-physician and dissenting member of the sex panel, considers it "tragic" that the report never tells teens that "there is no perfect means of birth

control and that condoms do not prevent sexually transmitted diseases."

From a telephone poll of 1,000 American adults taken for TIME/CNN on June 4-5 by Vanderbilt University's Shuman. Sampling error is plus or minus 2%. "Not sure" omitted.

TIME/CNN

The document is ambiguous in its pronouncements on sex

within marriage. It redefines fidelity as a learning process in which spouses renegotiate the relationship "as needs and desires change." At the same time, the report omits any mention of the Seventh Commandment, "Thou shalt not commit adultery." This lapse caused conservatives to declare that the document opens the door to extramarital sex, a charge that committee members deny.

In line with trends in other mainline denominations, the Presbyterian report asked church members to repeal legislation from the 1970s that bars sexually active gays and lesbians from the clergy. That too was rejected. Nonetheless, the assembly may have reflected the extent to which the sexual revolution has infiltrated the ranks by refusing to include in its final resolutions a clause that condemned all intercourse outside marriage as "not in conformity with God's will."

EPISCOPALIANS

At next month's convention, an official commission, chaired by Rhode Island's Bishop George Hunt, is proposing that the church endorse the view that homosexuality is a "God-given" state and that gay relationships are "holy, life-giving and grace-filled." The panel wants the church to develop blessing ceremonies for same-sex couples and allow local bishops to ordain actively homosexual clergy.

Some bishops are already doing so. Two weeks ago, Bishop Ronald Haines of Washington ordained the Rev. Elizabeth Carl, 44, who is living openly with a lesbian partner. Haines acted despite pressure from the denomination's Presiding Bishop, Edmond Browning, who is sympathetic to

Questions asked of people who worship:

FREQUENTLY	%
RARELY	%

Should religious groups bar sexually active gays or lesbians from the clergy?

63% YES 43%

Is it always wrong for two men to have sex with each other?

81% YES 66%

the gay cause but wished to avoid the controversy. The action drew a pained comment from the capital's premier Episcopal churchgoer, President George Bush: "Perhaps I'm a little old-fashioned, but I'm not quite ready for that."

Nor are many others. The Episcopal convention will debate a conservative counterblast from 60 bishops, led by William Frey, dean of Trinity Episcopal School for Ministry in Ambler, Pa. The proposal would amend canon law to place all clergy "under the obligation to abstain from sexual relations outside of Holy Matrimony." Observes Frey: "Many of us believe that the sexual revolution has run its course, leaving in its wake thousands of broken marriages, a sharp rise in teenage pregnancies, millions of convenience-motivated abortions, a multibillion-dollar pornography industry and a mushrooming AIDS epidemic. What could be better news than the proclamation that there is a better way?" Bishop Hunt predicts a close vote.

METHODISTS

The church's panel on homosexuality is stirring a ruckus even before its report is written. James Holsinger, medical director of the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, quit the study committee last February because he felt certain its conclusions would follow liberal lines. But "nothing is fixed," says the Rev. Nancy Yamasaki of Spokane, the committee chair, who is publicly noncommittal. The panel's recommendations will undergo administrative review before reaching next year's nationwide General Conference.

Any revolutionary Methodist proposal is likely to rely on the thinking of Victor Paul Furnish of Southern Methodist University and other liberal Bible scholars. According to their various reinterpretations, the Old Testament forbids homosexual behavior as part of a code, including laws and rituals, that Christians no longer observe. As for New Testament abjections against the practice, particularly St. Paul's strong injunctions, revisionist scholars claim that the prohibitions were aimed only against pederasty and homosexual acts by persons who were naturally heterosexual. In any event, the argument runs, the apostle would have been more understanding if he knew as much about human sexual variance as moderns do.

Holsinger thinks Methodism could lose

millions of members if an upheaval in church policy is ever approved. But Julian Rush of Denver, a pioneer gay Methodist minister, says, "I don't expect any change in my lifetime. The church won't lead the way on gays. It has to come from society into the church."

The debate over sexual morality is least strident in the nation's growing Evangelical and Fundamentalist churches, in which literalist interpretations of the Bible are embraced and heterosexual marriage is the only state in which sex is without sin. Nonetheless, these groups are taking part in the debate from the sidelines. Two weeks ago, the 15 million-member Southern Baptist Convention pleaded for "all Christians to uphold the biblical standard of human sexuality against all onslaughts."

No institution has backed traditional morals more ardently than the Roman Catholic Church, particularly under Pope John Paul II. But within the U.S. branch of the church, there are stirrings nonetheless. The most unorthodox to date was a 1977 study commissioned by the Catholic Theological Society of America. Like this year's Presbyterian panel, the Catholic thinkers who took part declared there could be instances in which homosexual, premarital and unwed sex were moral. The group was even unwilling to outlaw adultery flatly,



Lesbian priest Elizabeth Carl with colleague in Washington

though it urged "extreme caution" for priests who face the issue. The views flew in the face of Vatican pronouncements made a year earlier, and the doctrine committee of the U.S. bishops later issued an unusual attack on the study. But since the mid-1970s, National Opinion Research Center polls have shown that rank-and-file U.S. Catholics are consistently more liberal than Protestants on the issue of premarital sex. The latest finding: 84% of Catholics do not always find it wrong, vs. 69% of Protestants.

Catholicism, of course, has a unique sex policy for its priests and nuns: celibacy. The debate over that tradition has heated up of late, through the exposure of a variety of sex scandals and admissions that the stricture is widely ignored. A *Star Tribune* newspaper poll last April, for example, revealed that one-fifth of Minnesota priests admit to violating their vows. But Cincinnati's Archbishop Daniel Pilarczyk, president of the U.S. hierarchy, still contends, "At a time when the whole of our culture is saying you've got to have sexual fulfillment and sexual activity, I think it's important for the church to give witness that that is not necessary for a productive and full human life."

The notion of the church as a bulwark against America's voracious sexual culture is also taken up by Bishop Frey, leader of the Episcopal traditionalists. In a letter to fellow prelates he argues that "one of the most attractive features of the early Christian communities... was their radical sexual ethic and their deep commitment to family values. These things... drew many people to them who were disillusioned by the promiscuous excesses of what proved to be a declining culture. Wouldn't it be wonderful for our Church to find such countercultural courage today?"

But as the pressures and practices of modern society continue to evolve, issues of right and wrong in sex, that intricate aspect of human existence, are likely to become even more perplexing to most Americans. And now churches that once served as sources of clear moral guidance are likewise grappling uncertainly with these issues as they try to decide whether their sexual standards will derive from biblical tradition or the folk folkways of modernity.

—Reported by Barbara Dolan/Chicago, Joseph J. Kane/Atlanta and Leslie Whitaker/New York

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Language

Defining Womyn (and Others)

Random House's new dictionary is gender neutral, politically correct—and an English-lover's disappointment

By **JESSE BIRNBAUM**

Dictionaries are like watches; the worst is better than none, and the best cannot be expected to go quite true.

Samuel Johnson should be living at this hour; the English language has need of him. Though he was never at a loss for words, the great lexicographical drudge would probably be confounded to read the new *Random House Webster's College Dictionary*. It is bugled as "the New Definition of Dictionary," the "newest, biggest and best."

Newest, yes; biggest, yes—for a college dictionary (180,000 entries). As for best, it may be said that this dictionary goes like Dr. Johnson's watches. It will also tick off a lot of people.

Those who believe dictionaries should not merely reflect the times but also protect English from the mindless assaults of the trendy will find that the *Random House Webster's* lends authority to scores of questionable usages, many of them tinged with "politically correct" views. Purists will fume, but what is worse is that such permissiveness can only invite a further tattering of the language—and already has.

At its core, the *Random House Webster's* is a laudable achievement, the work of many excellent minds. It is in the core's wrapping that trouble lies and English suffers erosion, mainly because the editors choose to be "descriptive, not prescriptive." As a result, numerous entries and usage notes, wafting in the sociological winds and whims of the day, are inconsistent and gratuitous, undermining any pretense of rigor, let alone authority.

Most notable in these pages is the influence of special-interest groups, prominently feminists and minorities. They are saluted, and placated, to the point where judgment is often skewed, and where tin-eared or casually invented words and terms are given approval simply because they are fashionable. "We tried our best," says executive editor Sol Steinmetz in justification, "to infuse

some social significance into the language along the lines of what sociologists do."

An added essay, *Avoiding Sexist Language*, offers some useful gender-neutral suggestions (firefighter instead of fireman). Yet browsers will find as well the stamp of acceptance on the dreadful *herstory* ("an alternative form to distinguish or emphasize the particular experience of women"); the execrable *womyn* ("alternative spelling to avoid the suggestion of sexism perceived in

cute formulations can worm their way into acceptance. A *celebrante*, for example, is someone who seeks the limelight through association with celebrities; to *Mirandize* (verb), as in "Mirandize the perpetrator," refers to the Miranda rule that requires cops to warn *arrestees* (noun) of their legal rights. As might be expected, the ungrammatical use of *hopefully* ("Hopefully we will get to the show on time") receives *Random's* blessing: "Although some strongly object . . . [hopefully] is standard in all varieties of speech and writing."

Even the word *Webster's* has succumbed to the loose use of language. Though Noah Webster produced his first American dictionary in 1806, his name never appeared in the title of his editions until

after his death. *Webster's* has since passed into generic usage, and any publisher can slap the word into the titles of its own lexicons.

The reluctance of *Random House's* editors to make tough, perhaps even unpopular, judgments is an ominous sign. It encourages the self-appointed watchdogs who bark at purported offenses and demand revisions that often border on the ridiculous. Their concern is not only a desire to expel genuinely vicious or hateful words from the vocabulary; their activity is calculated mainly to protect the sensitivities of minority groups, even from objectionable phrases that bear little or

no relationship to discrimination or racism. What counts, say the watchdogs, is not the origin of a term but how a person feels about it. Hence *waitron*.

If these watchdogs get their way, other words and phrases, now listed approvingly by *Random House*, may suffer the same baroque fate. For example, some feminists have objected to the word *seminal*, which refers to something that is original and influential. They argue that *seminal*, like *seminar* and *seminary*, fails the gender-neutral test because it derives from *semen*, the Latin word for seed. So much for logic.

It is just as well that the English language, so welcoming to precision and so rich with metaphor and vitality, continues to be a growing wonder. Like many living things, it needs constant pruning to flourish. The *Random House* version of *Webster's* too could use some pruning—or maybe a good watch repairperson. —Reported by Anne Hopkins/
New York

LINGUISTIC CORRECTNESS RANDOM HOUSE STYLE

DICTIONARY ENTRY	RATIONALE
Chairpersonship	Nonexistent for chairmanship
Heightism, weightism	Recognizes discrimination against short and fat people
Herstory	Distinguishes the study of women's affairs from the generic, all-inclusive history (a word with an etymology that has nothing to do with gender but comes from the Greek <i>histor</i> , meaning learned, knowing)
Humankind	Neutral substitute for mankind. This does not solve the problem for gender neutralists, since <i>human</i> derives from the same Latin root as <i>man</i> : <i>homo</i>
Waitron, wait-person	Gender-neutral term for waiter
Womyn (pl.)	Avoids perception of sexism in <i>m-e-n</i>

the sequence *m-e-n*"); and the absurd *wait-person* (waiter or waitress) and *waitron* ("a person of either sex who waits on tables"). Future lexicons, perhaps, will give us *waitoid* (a person of indeterminate sex who waits on tables).

Straining even more to avoid giving offense, except to good usage, the dictionary offers comfort to very short people (though not very tall ones) with *heightism* ("discrimination or prejudice based on a person's stature, esp. discrimination against short people"); and to very fat people (but not very thin ones) with *weightism* ("bias or discrimination against people who are overweight"). Omitted, fortunately, are such high-fad content terms as *lookism* (bias against people because of their appearance), *ableism* (bias against the handicapped) or differently *abled* (alternative to handicapped).

Scores of new entries, however, demonstrate the extent to which rotten clichés and



COVER STORIES

Gender Bender

A white-hot debate rages over whether *Thelma & Louise* celebrates liberated females, male bashers—or outlaws

By RICHARD SCHICKEL



It is "the first movie I've ever seen which told the downright truth," says Mary Lucey, a lesbian activist in Los Angeles.

It is a "paean to transformative violence.... An explicit fascist theme," writes social commentator John Leo, who went out prospecting for a column in *U.S. News and World Report* and discovered a mother lode of fool's gold.

It is, according to Cathy Bell, a Houston environmental communications specialist who was once married to "a redneck control freak" and found the courage to dump him after a liberating weekend trip with a girlfriend, "like seeing my life played before my eyes."

"It justifies armed robbery, manslaughter and chronic drunken driving as exercises in consciousness raising," charges New York *Daily News* columnist Richard Johnson, who also finds it "degrading to

men, with pathetic stereotypes of testosterone-crazed behavior" and half-seriously proposes a ban on it.

It is, according to Miami *Herald* movie reviewer Bill Cosford, "a butt-kicking feminist manifesto... which sweeps you along for the ride." No, says Sheila Benson, a Los Angeles *Times* film critic, it is a betrayal of feminism, which, as she understands it, "has to do with responsibility, equality, sensitivity, understanding—not revenge, retribution or sadistic behavior."

Whole lot of heavy thinking going on out there. Some pretty heavy journalistic breathing too. Hard to believe that the occasion for this heated exercise in moral philosophy and sociological big-think is a modest and, at its most basic level, very enjoyable little movie called *Thelma & Louise*, which is so far a moderate commercial success. It has earned about \$20 million in its first 3½ weeks of release—less than a muscular big-boy movie like *Robin Hood* or *Terminator 2: Judgment Day*

could expect to make on its first weekend.

No matter. *Thelma & Louise* is a movie whose scenes and themes lend themselves to provocative discussions. What business it's doing is in all the right places—the big cities and college towns where opinion makers are ever on the alert for something to make an opinion about. For their purposes, this movie is a natural. In the most literal sense of the word. For the picture has a curiously unselfconscious manner about it, an air of not being completely aware of its own subtexts or largest intentions, of being innocently open to interpretation, appropriate and otherwise.

This, indeed, is its salient redeeming quality. If it were as certain—and as clumsy—about what it was up to as its more virulent critics think it is, it might easily have been as overbearing—and as deadly—as some of their interpretations are. It is not, though, and anyone with a sense of recent film history can see *Thelma & Louise* in the honorable line of movies whose makers,





Susan Sarandon and Geena Davis start out on a lark, but their spree ends up igniting explosive issues of sexual politics.

Moore and Glenn Headly) kill a hateful husband (Bruce Willis, who lately can't seem to get a break). The trend straddles oceans too: Luc Besson's stylish French thriller, *La Femme Nikita*, is about a woman (Anne Parillaud) whose romantic life conflicts with her career as an espionage hit person.

The movie summer promises more women who take their life—and a gun—in their own hands. Kathleen Turner will play a tough private eye in *V.I. Warshawski*. Even the budget-bustin' action-adventure *Terminator 2* offers a strong female figure: Linda Hamilton is an embattled mother powerful enough to square off alongside Arnold Schwarzenegger.

The success of these films as popular entertainment and as clues to the zeitgeist remains to be determined. But they will have to go far to match *Thelma & Louise*. "Ten years from now it will be seen as a turning point," says Peter Keough, film editor of the Boston *Phoenix*.

He is more than likely right. Movies achieve this kind of historic stature not because they offer a particularly acute portrayal of the way we live now or because they summarize with nuanced accuracy the opposing positions in an often flatulent quasi-political debate. They work because somehow they worm their way into our collec-

tive dreamscape, retrieve the anxious images they find there and then splash them across the big screen in dramatically heightened form.

That's why most of the questions raised about *Thelma & Louise* seem so weirdly inappropriate. Does it offer suitable "role models"? Is the "violence" its heroines mete out to their tormentors really "empowering" to women, or does it represent a feckless sacrifice of the high moral ground? Is its indiscriminate "male bashing" grossly unfair to an entire sex?

Should we care? As Barbara Bunker, who teaches psychology at the State University of New York, Buffalo, very sensibly notes, "It's a dramatic piece, not a [literal] description of what's going on in our society. It seems to me that drama is supposed to make things larger than life so you get the point." Agrees Regina Barreca, who teaches English at the University of Connecticut and is the author of *They Used to Call Me Snow White ... but I Drifted*, a

without quite knowing what they were doing, sank a drill into what appeared to be familiar American soil and found that they had somehow tapped into a wild-rushing subterranean stream of inchoate outrage and deranged violence. *Bonnie and Clyde* and *Easy Rider*, *Dirty Harry* and *Fatal Attraction*—all these movies began as attempts to vary and freshen traditional generic themes but ended up taking their creators, and their audiences, on trips much deeper, darker, more disturbing than anyone imagined they were going to make.

These are not the big-budget movies that solemnly announce the importance of their subject matter and often totter off into oblivion clutching a Best Picture Oscar—emotional irrelevancy's consolation prize. The true genre-bending films are less pretentious, less carefully calculated entertainments that may have only a hazy idea of their objectives. And (best thing about them, really) they have a way of driving some people—the ones who think

movies ought to be a realistic medium or an ideologically correct one—crazy.

Consciously or not, these films tend to serve as expressions of the values or confusions jangling around in their society, or occasionally as springboards for earnest discussions of them. At a time when moral discourse has been reduced to the size of a sound bite and rapid social change has everyone on edge, the messages conveyed in even the most frolicking of these movies stir peculiar passions. Such films often have an astonishing afterlife, not only in popular memory but as artifacts that vividly define their times.

These times, in movies as in American society, seem defined by perilous, off-balance relationships between men and women. The year's two top box-office winners, *The Silence of the Lambs* and *Sleeping with the Enemy*, dramatize the judicious revenge that a woman takes on a brutalizing man. In another new film, Alan Rudolph's dour and inept *Mortal Thoughts*, two women (Demi

book about women and humor: "It has got to be seen not as a cultural representation but as a fairy tale." In other words, as a dream work, full of archetypes and exaggerations.

This does not mean that *Thelma & Louise* is or was ever meant to be a sweet dream, a comfortable, comforting movie like, say, *City Slickers*. "Screenplay idea," jotted Callie Khouri in her notebook one day in 1987: "Two women go on a crime spree." Khouri, whose first screenplay this is, had the notion that if a female couple were somehow forced by circumstances to take up the outlaw life, they would, under the suspenseful impress of life on the lam, undergo the same kind of bonding process—sweet, funny, appealing—that male protagonists customarily experience in this kind of movie. But she also seemed to sense that just because of its off-casting, it could have a jagged edginess that its models had long since lost.

Khouri's idea was, to borrow a term from old-time Hollywood writers, a nice little switcheroo—logical, easy to explain and not too threatening in its originality. Moreover, the times were right for it. Everyone was complaining that there were too few good roles for women in American movies—especially roles that permitted their characters to make their own decisions, control their own destiny. In fact, according to Mimi Polk, *Thelma & Louise*'s producer, the movie did not "pitch well" to studio executives: "The script was full of subtlety that was lost in a two-sentence description." Polk feels, as well, that had she and her partner, Ridley Scott, proposed two male stars in the lead, they could have got a budget hefty than the \$17.5 million they ultimately spent.

It is possible, of course, that the Suits were just as nervous about the story that Khouri developed as some of the film's latter-day critics have turned out to be. Hollywood is not, after all, the world capital of the new masculine sensibility.

Be that as it may, the movie, which Scott (*Alien*, *Blade Runner*) eventually decided to direct himself, starts out in a low, ingratiating gear. It looks like a "buddy romp," as Geena Davis, who plays Thelma, puts it. Thelma is married to a carpet salesman named Darryl, who represents everything stupid and stupefying about traditional masculinity, keeping Thelma in a state of near childish dependency. Her best pal, Louise (Susan Sarandon), lives with an oft traveling musician named Jimmy, who is nice enough but suffers from the other great modern male defect—a maddening inability to make permanent

THE ROGUES' GALLERY

SYMPATHETIC FROM AFAR

Harvey Keitel plays the kindly cop who hopes to catch Thelma and Louise before their odyssey turns tragic, but to them he's just a male who wants to put them in another jail.



ROLAND NEFF—HBO

WAYWARD LOVER

Louise's good-hearted but erratic boyfriend, played by Michael Madsen, is a musician who can't find the key of commitment. He learns what it's like to wait while someone else goes out on the road.



NEVILL—HBO

CLASSIC CHAUVINIST

Christopher McDonald plays Thelma's stupid, stupefying husband, who subjugates her like a child until he is left with nothing but his dinner, his beer and his bafflement.



NEVILL—HBO

CUTE BUT DANGEROUS

The fugitives pick up a hitchhiker, played by Brad Pitt, but he's the one who takes them for a ride: after a night of sex with Thelma, he absconds with Louise's savings.



NEVILL—HBO

commitments. Both women feel more than entitled to shed their mates for a long weekend at a friend's vacation retreat.

On the way, they stop at a roadside for a drink. One of its resident lounge lizards mistakes Thelma's naive flirtatiousness for a come-on, follows her to the parking lot and almost succeeds in raping her. Louise

rescues her at gunpoint. Then, just as you are figuring that this is an unaccountably dark passage in the otherwise sunny film, Louise kills the would-be rapist. In cold blood. With malice aforethought, however briefly considered.

It is a remarkable mood swing, one of the few authentically daring narrative coups in the cautious recent history of American film. And it is by no means a carelessly considered one. "It was a goal to make that resonate throughout the film," according to Davis. It does, and it has a transforming effect on *Thelma & Louise*. It lifts it beyond the reach of gags like columnist Ellen Goodman's characterization of it as "a PMS movie, plain and simple." More important, it lifts it beyond the effective range of ideologically oriented criticism. "The violence I liked, in a way," says Sarandon, "because it is not premeditated. It is primal, and it doesn't solve anything."

It is also blessedly unexplained. In the aftermath of the killing, we do learn that something dreadful happened to Louise years ago. Obviously it was some kind of sexual assault, but she never reveals its exact nature. This, of course, runs counter to the conventions of popular culture. If this were the TV-rap movie-of-the-month, a hysterical revelation of the exact nature of the abuse—especially if it were, say, gang rape or years of incest—would be obligatory in order to balance the moral scales.

Such an explanation would have quelled much of the "male bashing" criticism leveled at *Thelma & Louise*. But it would also have cheapened the movie in some measure, suggesting that some kinds of sexual violence grant their victims murderous entitlements while others do not. By leaving Louise's mystery intact, the film implies that all forms of sexual exploitation, great or small, are consequential and damaging.

Within the moral scheme of the movie, writer Khouri's choice of this particular crime as the motive for the women's "crime spree," instead of, say, grand theft—auto, has other advantages as well. For one thing, it ironically restores Thelma and Louise to equality with men—at least in one realm of action. Says Martha Nussbaum, a philosophy professor

at Brown and an expert on women in antiquity: "I think the modern idea that women are gentle and sweet is parochial. Just look at Medea." The Greeks, Nussbaum suggests, understood that crimes are committed by those with the least access to power, which then, as now, included women. "As the ancients said, 'No force in na-

Cinema

ture is stronger than a woman wronged."

Or, perhaps, a woman who has had a taste of revenge and would like to gulp down more of it. Believing that no one is likely to accept their account of what happened in the parking lot, Thelma and Louise decide they have no choice but to make a run for the Mexican border. This long concluding passage of the film, rich in irony and ambiguities, is fueled dramatically by a slow, steady shift in their relationship. As Sarandon notes, Louise suffers "great remorse" about the murder. "It doesn't change the world, and in the long run it doesn't serve to her advantage." Indeed, fear of her act's consequences slowly unfear her former take-charge capability. She gradually cedes leadership of their little expedition to Thelma—possibly because she sees that it can end only in tragedy, while Thelma can't see anything because she is having the time of her life.

It is Thelma who spots a really cute hitchhiker by the side of the road and decides she just has to have him. With him she has great sex for the first time in her life. To him—she's a convenience-store bandit—she loses all the getaway money that Louise had scraped together from her life savings. But what might have seemed yet another rape, this time of a more symbolic kind, turns out to be a fair exchange. The hitchhiker, using Thelma's hair dryer as a gun substitute, teaches her the tricks of his dubious trade; soon she is doing hold-ups. It is Thelma too who gets the drop on a cop who stops the two women for speeding, orders him into the trunk of his squad car, and gently warns him to be sweet to his wife, adding, "My husband wasn't sweet to me, and look how I turned out."

Literalists criticize Thelma's erotic awakening because, they say, it could not happen so soon after the trauma of near

rape. Doubtless that would be true in circumstances less special than the ones the movie sets up. The point it's insisting on is that a sudden access of freedom is eroticizing as well as empowering.

By the same token, some representatives of the world's largest minority, the humor-impaired, regard the women's response to an oil-tank trucker with whom they keep playing fender tag as excessive. Every time they encounter him, the guy proves by word, smirk and obscene gesture that he's a chauvinist dinosaur. When he inquires if they're "ready to get serious," they reply encouragingly. What he doesn't know, of course, is that they're thinking metaphorically, with a little help from director Scott, with whose surrealistic reinvention of the West—one-third desert, one-third industrial wasteland, one-third unzoned strip development—this oil-truck rig fits right in. In Scott's eyes, and his

Moving into the Driver's Seat

Callie Khouri was a bit embarrassed to tell her friends, back in 1988, that she had begun working on a screenplay. After all, in Los Angeles it often seems as though screenplays are being written by everyone who can put a noun and a verb together, and by some who can't. But Khouri felt she was on to something special. She had grown tired of seeing women portrayed in movies as passive partners, terminally ill victims or sex objects. "I wanted to write something that had never been on the screen before," she says. "As a female moviegoer, I just got fed up with the passive role of women. They were never driving the story because they were never driving the car."

After consulting a few how-to books on screenwriting, Khouri, a music-video producer who had made videos for Robert Cray, Alice Cooper and the Commodores, started writing. Nine months later, *Thelma & Louise* found its way to director Ridley Scott and, through him, to MGM/UA. During the shooting, Scott added much of the phallic imagery—the huge trucks, the giant cacti and a chemical-spewing plane—that has riled some of the film's detractors. He also cut scenes that portrayed the close friendship between the two title characters, including one in which each confides what she fears most (for Thelma, growing old with a husband who doesn't love her; for Louise, growing old alone). While Khouri laments the loss of such revealing moments, she is pleased with the picture. "I think they did it really well," she says. "I've been very lucky."

Khouri, 33, originally hoped to make it in the movie business as an actress. The third of four children born to a surgeon and his wife, she grew up in Paducah, Ky., and went to Purdue University, planning to major in theater. But, unhappy with the roles for women in stu-

dent productions ("I can't tell you how many times I played a prostitute") and eager for more freedom, Khouri dropped out after five semesters. She moved to Nashville, where she worked as an apprentice at a local theater, then supported herself as a waitress—like Louise—before migrating to Los Angeles. There a job as a receptionist with a production company introduced her to the world of music videos. "I loved the work, but I was unhappy with what came out of it," Khouri says. "There was the dilemma of having very strong feelings about women and then paying them to writhe to music."

Some of that frustration helped fuel *Thelma & Louise*. "I wanted to have it so that when you left the theater, you respected the characters," says Khouri. She is annoyed by critics who charge that her film provides poor role models for women. "They don't really want to see women operating outside the boundaries that are prescribed for them, misbehaving and enjoying themselves," she says. Nor does she take kindly to the criticism that the movie bashes men. "I certainly don't hate men," says Khouri, who celebrates her first year of marriage to writer and producer David Warfield this month. "Most guys don't relate to the truck driver or the rapist [in *Thelma & Louise*], and if they do, their problems are bigger than this movie."

As for complaints that *Thelma & Louise* indulges in gratuitous violence, Khouri believes they arise from a double standard. Scores of action pictures show men pulling the trigger and putting down women, she points out. "For men, they're considered healthy fantasy." But when women are shown doing the same things, Khouri argues, "they say it's a propaganda tool. That's an absolute insult to the intellect of women. This is an adventure film. It's a film about women outlaws. People should just relax." —By Janice C. Simpson



First-time screenwriter Khouri: fed up

A SUMMER OF FORMIDABLE FEMALES

Thelma and Louise are far from the only movie women who are taking their destinies, as well as their guns, in hand these days. In *Terminator 2*, due next month, Linda Hamilton, top left, brings heavy firepower to the role of an embattled mother who joins forces with the cyborg. Kathleen Turner, top right, portrays a tough, smart private eye with a feminine private life in *V.I. Warshawski*, coming in August. And in the title role of the current French release *La Femme Nikita*, Anne Parillaud is a stylishly lethal, and lethally stylish, government agent.



heroines', it is a gigantic penis. And, yes, they are ready for that. Ready to blow it to smithereens with their little guns.

It is, as SUNY-Buffalo's psychologist Bunker says, "a fabulous move dramatically, a catharsis for all those times you've taken something and couldn't give it back." But taken together with some of the women's other acts, does it represent an excessive response to the provocation? Sarandon insists not. She says the charge shows "what a straight, white male world movies traditionally occupy. This kind of scrutiny does not happen to *Raiders of the Lost Ark* or that Schwarzenegger thing [*Total Recall*] where he shoots a woman in the head and says, 'Consider that a divorce.'" Sarandon insists that all concerned spent a lot of time making sure *Thelma & Louise* didn't turn into "a bloodlust-revenge film." Certainly, compared with the typical male-action film, the violence here is spare and rather chastely staged.

But that's not really the issue. What people sense, particularly in Davis' performance, is that she is getting off on her newly discovered taste and talent for gun-slinging outlawry. It's a kick, not so very

different from, maybe part and parcel of, her newly discovered pleasure in sex. This is something nice girls—nice people, nice movies—are not supposed to own up to, let alone speak of humorously. But as Bunker observes, violent assertiveness is "basically unrestrained expressiveness," and, let's be honest about it, we all enjoy our opportunities, all too rare in the real world, to partake of its pleasures.

The cost, though, is high. It is toward self-destruction that Thelma and Louise's road inevitably winds. For all the time they have been out there expressing themselves, a posse has been relentlessly closing in on them. By a pleasing irony, it is led by the only thoroughly nice guy in the picture, detective Hal Slouch (Harvey Keitel). A patient, sympathetic man, he is this myth's wise father figure. By the time Thelma and Louise finally see him, however, he is one of a small army of cops who have hemmed them in against the top of a sheer canyon wall. Hal advances toward them, arms outstretched, in a last-minute plea for reason.

Fat chance. The women eye him, eye the drop ahead of them, imagine a prison stretch, contemplate the last free choice

available to them—life or death—and floor the accelerator, sailing off the cliff into the movie's concluding whitout.

Unlike most of the plot points that have stirred debate, this one actually deserves it. Sure, everyone recognizes it as a straight steal from *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*, but what final meaning does it impose? Sarandon thinks it's "the least compromising ending. You built this whole film to have these people not settle anymore, and then you'd toss them back into the system?"

It's hard to find anyone who thinks the women should have turned themselves in. It is equally hard to find anyone who detects a note of triumph in their suicide. Novelist Alix Kates Shulman quotes La Pasionaria on this point: "It's better to die on your feet than live on your knees." But as Brooklyn Law School professor Elizabeth Schneider points out, the message here is that "self-assertion and awakening lead to death." Or, as film scholar Annette Insdorf puts it, "When death is your only choice, how free are you?"

All of which is a way of saying, "Baby, you've still got a long way to go." And a way of saying that, seen in narrowly feminist terms, *Thelma & Louise* advances the women's movement only a few hesitant steps. But perhaps the film should not be looked at that way. Davis, for one, resents the connection: "Why, because it stars women, is this suddenly a feminist treatise, given the burden of representing all women?"

A good point. In its messy, likable way, *Thelma & Louise* is getting at even larger, more mysterious issues. Carol Clover, a film scholar at the University of California, Berkeley, says the movie is trying to study, among other topics, "the distance between men and women, the desire for each sex to separate itself." It also attempts to look at the opposite side of that coin: the increasingly dangerous ways in which the sexes come together. Novelist James Carroll wrote last week in the *New Republic* that "when men and women reduce each other to sexual objects, they take the first step toward beating each other up."

Since this movie demonstrates Clover's point, and since it places that point in a context that is satirically aware of the violent and depersonalizing traditions of our visual popular culture, it just may be that *Thelma & Louise* is in fact better than any of its exegeses have made it sound. It remains the most intriguing movie now in release. No other cheers one's argumentative spirit, stirs one's critical imagination, and awakens one's protective affection in quite the way *Thelma & Louise* does. —Reported by Elizabeth L. Bland/New York, Sally B. Donnelly and Martha Smilgis/Los Angeles

Is This What Feminism Is All About?

By playing out a male fantasy, *Thelma & Louise* shows Hollywood is still a man's world

By MARGARET CARLSON



So few movies place women at their center that when one does it is held up to the light and turned every which way for clues about the state of the gender. This may be more freight than *Thelma & Louise* can carry. But not since *Fatal Attraction* has a movie provoked such table-pounding discussions between men and women. Along partisan lines, men attack the movie as a male-bashing feminist screed, in which they are portrayed as leering, overbearing, violent swine who deserve what they get, from a bullet in the heart to being stuffed in a trunk. Women cheer the movie because it finally turns the tables on Hollywood, which has been too busy making movies about bimbos, prostitutes, vipers and bitches and glamorizing the misogynists who kill them to make a movie like *Thelma & Louise*.

Yet for all the pleasure the film gives women moviegoers who want to see the worst of the opposite sex get what's coming to them, it can hardly be called a woman's movie or one with a feminist sensibility. As a bulletin from the front in the battle of the sexes, *Thelma & Louise* sends the message that little ground has been won. For these two women, feminism never happened. Thelma and Louise are so trapped that the only way for them to get away for more than two days is to go on the lam. They become free but only wildly, self-destructively so—free to drive off the ends of the earth.

They are also free to behave like—well, men. For all the talk that *Thelma & Louise* is the first major female buddy movie, it is more like a male buddy movie with two women plunked down in the starring roles. The heroines are irresistibly likable: the gentle, bewildered Thelma, married to a smug, low-rent, philandering salesman who wears more gold jewelry than she does, and for whom, when she takes off, she leaves dinner on a child's partitioned plate in the microwave; and Louise, the world-weary, wised-up waitress who has waited too long for her lounge-singer boyfriend to marry her. But rather than finding their way with their female natures intact or even being able to reach out to the one decent man who could help them, they become like any other shoot-first-and-talk-later action heroes.

Thelma and Louise act out a male fantasy of life on the road, avoiding intimacy with loud music, Wild Turkey, fast driving—and a gun in the pants. The movie has almost as many chase scenes per reel as *Smokey and the Bandit*. The characters don't confide in each other as real-life women would. When Thelma asks what happened in Louise's secret past in Texas that makes her murderous, Louise refuses to talk

and warns her not to ask about it. She turns driving from Oklahoma to Mexico without going through the Lone Star State into one of the movie's running jokes.

The pair can't seem to just have fun with each other on this woman's weekend in which they are finally free of the men who hem them in. Thelma is still the teenager at the slumber party who gets bored and has to call a few boys to come over. Less than an hour out of town, she talks Louise into stopping at a raunchy bar, where she dances with a creep who then tries to rape her in the parking lot. The women are sympathetic enough characters by this time so that we leap over the hurdle many adventure movies present—Why didn't they call the police?—and rationalize what might be a cold-blooded murder as an act of self-defense. That way we can climb into that green Thunderbird, put down the roof and go along for the joyride.

But it becomes harder and harder to root for the heroines, who make the wrong choice at every turn and act more like Clint Eastwood than Katharine Hepburn. The day after her near rape, Thelma is begging Louise to pick up a hitchhiker. It requires a breathtaking midair somersault of faith to believe Thelma would be eager to take up with another stranger so soon and would let him into her motel room and go limp with desire after he admits he robs convenience stores for a living.

The turning point of Thelma's character rests on one of the most enduring and infuriating male myths in the culture: the only thing an unhappy woman needs is good sex to make everything all right. After a night of knock-over-the-nightstand sex with the hitchhiker, Thelma comes down to the coffee shop suffused with satisfaction and tells Louise, "I finally

understand what all the fuss is about." Thelma is transformed, more confident and buoyant than she has ever been, reducing her angst to the simplistic notion that she was stuck with a husband who was insufficiently accomplished in the bedroom.

Despite such flaws, which leave you wondering if screenwriter Callie Khouri isn't just fronting for Hugh Hefner, *Thelma & Louise* is a movie with legs. Long after the movie is done entertaining, it stirs up questions about why men and women remain mysteries to each other. It has its small triumphs. Susan Sarandon makes Hollywood a little safer for older actresses; she fearlessly plays next to someone 10 years younger. And at least Thelma and Louise stop short of emulating Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid, who use their remaining ammunition to go out in a blaze of testosterone glory. The movie may not have the impact of *Fatal Attraction*, but next time a woman passes an 18-wheeler and points her finger like a pistol at the tires, the driver might just put his tongue back in his mouth where it belongs. ■



Heroines more like Eastwood than Hepburn

Stranded in Sherwood Forest

ROBIN HOOD: PRINCE OF THIEVES Directed by Kevin Reynolds
Screenplay by Pen Densham and John Watson

By RICHARD CORLISS

Kevin Costner as Robin Hood. Modern Hollywood's most likable star playing medieval England's most engaging hero—this is a parlay that sets moguls dancing. Its ostensibly canny match of star and subject assures that *Robin Hood: Prince of Thieves* will fill theaters. But will it send moviegoers out enthralled? The message from this cracked crystal ball is: Naah.

Granted, the picture has the makings. With a series of improbable hits, Costner has proved he can make huge audiences care about dead baseball players and gentle folks who speak Sioux. And the Robin Hood saga is very nearly perfect for movies: a thrilling adventure, a love story, a dream of nobility turned to common good, Robin of Locksley, that ancient and up-to-date people's hero, defends England against Norman predators and robs the rich to give to the poor.

The Robin Hood films are, of course, not about a Norman-Saxon feud or the equitable redistribution of goods. They are about star quality. The mythic Robin Hood is a figure of strength, grace, wit and humanity. He radiates moral self-confidence. He is a fellow's best friend and a woman's dream lover. He personifies what in simpler times was called masculinity. No wonder the role lured some of the cinema's top exemplars of derring-do. Douglas Fairbanks (1922), Errol Flynn (1938) and Sean Connery (1976) made memorable glosses on the English lord—and no matter that the actors hailed, respectively, from Colorado, Tasmania and Scotland. Fairbanks soared, Flynn grinned, Connery smoldered, and each struck singular movie sparks.

Today, when dour antiheroes have glutted the market, Robin Hood is again the good guy of choice. Just last month Fox TV aired a new version, directed by John Irvin and starring Patrick Bergin. That *Robin Hood* is no instant classic. Its action scenes consist mostly of guys milling outside castles and roaring like juiced-up fans at a Midlands football match. But Bergin does invest the woodsman from the 1190s with a bit of 1990s Green Power. Waging guerrilla war against the ravagers of Sherwood Forest, Bergin is at one with his

sylvan surroundings—a butch Bambi.

In Costner's larger, busier take on the legend, the only green power is at the box office. With a sigh, the script reprises Robin's recruiting of his Merry Men (a pallid crowd here), his verbal jousting (uninspired), his romance with Maid Marian (Mary Elizabeth Mastrantonio, her wondrous screen potential again untapped). The movie treats these plot points as tiresome requirements,

not chances to work fresh alchemy on old elements. At 2 hours 20 minutes, the enterprise lacks passion, or even a sense of inspired fun; it is as if the filmmakers were dutifully honoring business commitments. Wading through the torpid spots, director Kevin Reynolds seems like a restless kid—or, maybe, like the audience—impatient to get on with the swashbuckling.

That's when *Prince of Thieves* finally jolts awake. Robin orchestrates a cunning climactic assault, the Merry Men's arrows sizzle through the sky like happy Scuds, and the bustle of bodies and cameras produces congenial movie movement. Two of the actors carry this larkish spirit through-

out the film. Geraldine McEwan, in devil-doll weeds, makes for a hilariously desiccated witch. And Alan Rickman, fairly drooling with delight at his own wickedness, plays the Sheriff of Nottingham as a vibrant cartoon villain: Snidely Whiplash rampant.

These performers are British; they were steeped from birth in high style and the seductive melody of theatrical rhetoric. But the leads—Costner, Mastrantonio, Christian Slater as Will Scarlet, Michael McShane as Friar Tuck, Morgan Freeman as a Moor displaced in Nottingham—are all American, intoning flat varieties of American English. They sound like tourists stranded in Sherwood Forest. And they inadvertently give a new meaning to the story: now Robin and his band are vagrant colonialists who save England from those who can actually speak the language.

Dull speaking, in Costner's case, is an emblem of miscasting. The character of Robin Hood demands emotional exuberance—not Costner's forte. He does not spring; he is coiled. He is a reactive actor; audiences enjoy watching him think. In *Bull Durham*, *Field of Dreams* and *Dances with Wolves* he played, quite persuasively, cynics who find something to believe in. But Nottinghamshire is no place for California dreamin'. Perhaps, in the two recent movies about legendary princes, the stars should have swapped roles. Mel Gibson could have been a dashing Robin Hood and Costner a provocative Hamlet.

Not till the very end of the film, when King Richard pops up, portrayed, in a surprise appearance, by an actor who has launched many a grand movie adventure, will audiences get a glimpse of epic star quality. Then, like the Merry Men, they will unleash a hearty ho-ho. The rest of this *Robin Hood* merits only a ho-hum.



Good guy loses, bad guy wins: Costner is the hero-star, but wicked Rickman (with Mastrantonio) steals the show

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Just Too Beastly for Words

Zoos are becoming an endangered species, beset by financial crises and targeted by animal-rights activists

By **JESSE BIRNBAUM**

History's first zoo keeper must have been one very busy conservationist, but at least he was spared the burdensome barbs of animal-rights activists, possibly because they were engaged in self-preservation. All Noah had to do was tend his passengers for 40 days and then turn them loose.

Today Noah would be plowing heavier seas. Not only are zoo managers concerned with the care of their charges, they are also concerned that the zoo, as an institution for research, education and preservation, is be-

coming as endangered as some of the animals it houses. Financial support has dropped, and costs keep climbing. Rising too is a clamor from critics who claim that zoos are no better than prisons, designed for the amusement of mindless gawkers. The more militant activists want to shut zoos down altogether.



ELL KNOX—WEST GALLERY

coming as endangered as some of the animals it houses. Financial support has dropped, and costs keep climbing. Rising too is a clamor from critics who claim that zoos are no better than prisons, designed for the amusement of mindless gawkers. The more militant activists want to shut zoos down altogether.

Such is their zeal that a delegation from People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) trooped into Washington's National Zoo last Christmas bearing gifts of exotic fruits to remind the beasts of the good old days back home. They serenaded the inmates with heartfelt renditions of *God Rest Ye All the Animals* and *Let 'em Go* (to the tune of *Let It Snow*).

Warthogwash! Michael Hutchins, director of conservation and science for the American Association of Zoological Parks and Aquariums, says the activists are "unrealistic and biologically naive; they are taking human moral precepts and trying to apply

GOOD THINGS ABOUT ZOOS...

- **Conservation:** Many animals live longer in captivity and raise more young.
- **Education:** People see otherwise inaccessible wildlife and learn respect for nature.
- **Propagation:** Endangered species are saved and reintroduced to natural habitats.

...AND THE BUM RAP AGAINST THEM

- **Speciesism:** Zoos cage animals callously for the delight of people.
- **Sadism:** Animals suffer from stress and boredom and die prematurely.
- **Malthusianism:** Surplus offspring are sometimes destroyed and fed to other animals.

San Diego Zoo

ing shows and petting zoos around the country, many of which are substandard and, rightly, ought to be shuttered.

But no such distinctions exist for many activists, who believe zoo keepers are guilty of "speciesism," the movement's politically correct counterpart to racism. Animals, PETA insists, are no different from people and should be treated accordingly. "There really is no rational reason for saying a human being has special rights," says PETA co-founder Ingrid Newkirk, whose credo is "A rat is a pig is a dog is a boy."

This means, among other things, that incarceration in a penned environment—or even an unpenned one, in the most modern and progressive of zoos—inflicts unacceptable psychological and even physical harm on animals, all to provide diversion for Homo sapiens. Such treatment, say activists, cannot be justified by any beneficial services that zoos perform.

At the extreme, some zoophobes suggest

that the extinction of endangered species is preferable to confinement. In the essay "Against Zoos," University of Colorado philosopher Dale Jamieson asks, "Is it really better to confine a few hapless Mountain Gorillas in a zoo than to permit the species to become extinct? ... If it is true that we are inevitably moving toward a world in which Mountain Gorillas can survive only in zoos, then we must ask whether it is really better for them to live in artificial environments of our design than not to be born at all."

The answer is yes, it is better. The globe is losing valuable species day by day; 20% to 50% of the world's biological diversity may be gone before the end of the next century, and the irony is that human beings will have contributed overwhelmingly to that loss. The human population is expected to nearly double within the next few decades. For Third World agrarian economies especially,

the competition for space and resources will grow during this "demographic winter," and the losers will be wild animals.

In fact, what was once called the wild hardly exists anymore. Even some of the great African game preserves are little more than fenced megazoo. The vast spaces required by such predatory species as leopards, for example, have been reduced to fragments occupied by ever smaller animal populations. This often leads to a loss of genetic diversity of species and an increase in infant mortality.

The response to this depletion, argue the zoo managers, is controlled breeding in captivity, which has already wrought remarkable success.

The London Zoo has bred the rare Père David's deer of China and the Arabian Oryx and reintroduced them to their native habitats. The San Diego Zoo, which houses more than 150 species on the endangered list and has returned a dozen of them to the wild, recently produced triplet Sumatran tigers. Working with the Los Angeles Zoo, San Diego has also had spectacular results with the rare California condor. A sparse flock of 16 has grown to 50, and some may be returned this fall to the mountains near Ventura.

That's not good enough for the activists. They suggest that folks who want to see animals should instead visit the wild places. San Diego Zoo spokesman Jeff Jouett did that very thing earlier this year. In Kenya he saw five rhinoceroses snuffing about in a game park. They were surrounded by 10 vans filled with tourists. That wasn't so bad, he was told. Usually the rhinos perform for 50 vans. God rest ye merry, rhinos.

—Reported by Helen Gibson/London and Anne Hopkins/New York

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Peddling Big Brother

Foreign governments are snapping up surveillance systems that are produced—but proscribed—in the West

By PHILIP ELMER-DEWITT WASHINGTON

As a newcomer to the world of computers, the government of Thailand was surprised and flattered last summer when it won a prize for being a "hero of the information age" from the Smithsonian Institution and *Computersworld* magazine. The award, which focused world attention on the Interior Ministry's efforts to computerize the country's social services, proved to be a mixed blessing. Technocrats may admire systems like Bangkok's, which by 2006 will have stored vital data on 65 million

long histories of human-rights violations. At first glance the Thai system, which is being considered for possible adoption by Indonesia and the Philippines, seems harmless enough. Every citizen over age 15 will be required to carry a card bearing a color photo, various pertinent facts (name, address and so on) and an identification number. Most Thais are happy to get their IDs, which distinguish citizens from non-citizens (including a large population of refugees) and simplify all sorts of bureaucratic transactions, from receiving health-care benefits to enrolling a child in school.

WITH THIS CARD, THE THAI GOVERNMENT CAN OBTAIN:

- Her name and picture
- Her fingerprints
- Her height
- Her home address
- Her parents' names
- Her children's names
- Her marital status
- Her education
- Her occupation and income
- Her nationality and religion
- Her family history
- and if the links are made
- Her tax return
- Her criminal record (if any)



Thais in a single, integrated computer network. But civil libertarians are appalled. Simon Davies, an Australian expert on such technology for the watchdog group Privacy International, says Bangkok's prizewinning program is, potentially, "one of the most repressive surveillance systems the world has ever seen."

Thailand's population data-base system—the largest of its kind—has become a symbol for an alarming trend. Even as Western nations place new limits on what they permit computers to do with sensitive personal data, some of their biggest computer firms have begun selling to Third World governments systems that are far more invasive than any permitted back home. In some cases, though not necessarily Thailand's, computers with vast potential for misuse are being sold to governments with

But behind the cards are a \$50 million computer system and sophisticated software that could enable a Big Brother government to create a dossier quickly that would tell it just about anything it wanted to know about anybody. The program, which runs on three top-of-the-line Control Data mainframes, is known as a relational data base, and it permits bureaucrats to correlate the files of otherwise disparate government offices. If the necessary links to the revenue and police departments are put in place, a few key taps could cross-reference criminal records to tax records to religious and family information in order to draw a startlingly detailed description of any individual or group. Thai officials say they have no plans to create those links.

Most industrialized nations have evolved legal codes to protect their citizens

from such invasions of privacy. The principle is laid out in the U.S. Privacy Act of 1974, which at least in theory restrains the government from taking computer data gathered for one purpose (say, census) and using them for another purpose (say, tax collection). Another guiding precept is that unique numerical identifiers—like Thailand's ID numbers—should be avoided because they make dossier preparation temptingly easy. That is why the American Civil Liberties Union gets upset when a Social Security number is used beyond its original intent.

The potential for abuse of such systems has been amply demonstrated. Until quite recently, the white-ruled government of South Africa employed pass-card and fingerprint systems, running on computer supplied by IBM and the British firm ICL to enforce travel restrictions on the black population. This practice eventually led to a U.S.-government ban on the sale of computers to any apartheid-enforcing agency.

Today Israel uses a work-permit card system, running on U.S. equipment (the name of the supplier is an Israeli secret), to monitor the movement of Palestinians living in the occupied territories. Singapore, known for its strict regulation of everything from littering to drug peddling, has purchased more than \$12 million worth of computer equipment from NEC, including a machine-readable ID-card system (with laser-engraved thumbprint) and an automated fingerprint-identification system.

Such systems are particularly attractive to governments troubled by civilian unrest. Guatemala, where death squads have been linked to hundreds of extrajudicial executions and "disappearances," purchased computer surveillance software from Israel in the early 1980s. Within the next few weeks, Taiwan is expected to award contracts worth \$270 million for its own "residential-information system." Among the bidders: Unisys, Digital Equipment Corp., NEC and ICL.

The sale of these systems will continue to spread unless the U.S. and other vendor nations take steps to stop it. At present the U.S. State and Commerce departments have strict rules governing the export of weapons systems and computers with potential military uses. But with the exception of the South African ban, there are no regulations preventing the sale of relational-data-base systems to countries that lack basic constitutional safeguards. "The U.S. claims to have a role as the moral leader in protecting freedom and democracy," complains Marc Rotenberg, Washington director of Computer Professionals for Social Responsibility. "But we are becoming surveillance-technology merchants to the world."

—With reporting by John Dunn/
Sydney and Narunart Prapanay/Bangkok

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Books

Monkeys in a Jungle

BRAZZAVILLE BEACH by William Boyd; Morrow; 316 pages; \$21

By MARTHA DUFFY

For starters, take a charismatic scientist in west Africa, someone whose fictional career parallels Jane Goodall's or Dian Fossey's. Eugene Mallabar began by making scrupulous and original studies of chimpanzees during the 1950s and became a celebrity when his first best seller, *The Peaceful Primate*, was published. Documentaries, TV shows, citations and honorary degrees—even a national park—all followed, and Mallabar grew rich.

In his reckless, boundingly readable fifth novel, British writer William Boyd

derails plots of an evil genius defending his golden poppycock eggs? In fact that statement can be made without condescension, because swift and artful pacing is the novel's strongest quality. With his five earlier books, Boyd, 39, has gained an enviable reputation as an intellectual who wears his learning lightly, when he does not toss it aside completely. *Stars and Bars* was a smart send-up of both British and American roads to corruption. *The New Confessions* turned a dubious premise, a reprise of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's life, into a fluent book that is both romp and rumination. His new book is not so bumpily funny as previous ones, but the author cannot resist a few energizing japes.

The chimps and their keepers are not the only ones at war here. Various local factions are engaged in obscure hostilities that threaten the flow of money into Mallabar's coffers, and at one point Hope and a fellow researcher are kidnapped by an armed student volleyball team. Boyd also tries his hand at a fashionable fictional device—passages of italicized commentary interspersed through the narrative. He doesn't need this kind of frill, but when he is not being pompous, he makes his point: the chapter in which Hope is kidnapped by the volleyballers is preceded by a deadpan account of the sport's origins in Massachusetts in 1895.

But the author has a bigger target in mind than literary devices. Both Mallabar and John Clearwater, Hope's mathematician husband, are scientists who become so obsessed with their theories that they lose their grip on real life. Hope, whose previous job had been classifying 147 ancient hedgerows in south Dorset, falls in love with John's billowing dreams: "What I want to do," he says, "is write the geometry of a wave."

Alas, John cannot give a structure to his visions and watches helplessly as they vanish. Hope flees to Africa, but he continues to haunt her. There could be paths in the decline of a man who wanted nothing dishonorable, just to be the renowned theorist of the Clearwater Set, but Boyd is too tough for that. John's descent into a watery grave is marked by heartless, droll milestones: he gives up drinking; he becomes an insatiable movie buff, sitting in the front row if possible; he reads only mystery novels, traveling with three dozen at a time; he starts digging holes; he digs a trench. And so passes his life away.

There is no doubt that Boyd is a gutsy writer, but in electing to tell his story largely through a woman's eyes, he takes an unusual chance. The past two decades have seen an unprecedented examination of a woman's consciousness, led not only by feminists but also by imaginative writers. Who is a woman and what does she want are hard questions to answer these days. Is Hope convincingly female? As a capable, active, admirably pragmatic person, she functions well as the centerpiece of an adventure. As a wife or a lover—sex is mercifully kept to a minimum—she is less believable. As a ponderer, someone who believes with Socrates that the unexamined life is not worth living, she is, well, William Boyd, and for the reader that is good company to keep.

A Perverse Brilliance

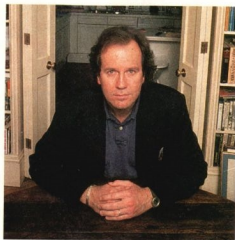
CHUTZPAH by Alan M. Dershowitz
Little, Brown; 378 pages; \$22.95

When Naftali Ringel arrived in the U.S. in 1907, the best available job was shohet—ritual slaughterer. But the immigrant was too sensitive for throat cutting, and he chose to become a peddler. Assimilation works wonders in America; 84 years later, his grandson has developed an unerring instinct for the jugular vein.

The author, perhaps best known for his defense of Claus von Bülow, was a central character in the film *Reversal of Fortune*. Ron Silver accurately portrayed him as an amalgam of clenched hair and perverse brilliance. Those eager for a sequel have only to consult *Chutzpah*. The title is a Yiddish term that resists translation. In a word, gall. In two words, Alan Dershowitz.

In this autobiographical screed, Dershowitz begins with a childhood in an Orthodox Jewish section of Brooklyn. The boy was too secular for Talmudic scholarship, but he proved to be a stubborn and flashy debater. A fellow student appraised him: Alan "has a mouth of Webster and a head of Clay." The mouth went on to Yale Law School, where he ranked first in his class, yet found himself locked out of prominent legal firms because of "the world of bigotry, discrimination, racism, and anti-Semitism called the American bar."

Dershowitz eventually landed a teaching job at Harvard Law School. There, gratitude was not his long suit. Neither was tweed. He recalls his fellow Jews on the faculty: they didn't "dress British and think Yiddish." They thought British too. Their Angliophilia... affected their mannerisms, their attitudes, their style of speech, their choice of metaphors, even their jokes."



Behind Boyd's bravado is a wild creature's wariness. Chimps and men are easily led to war. Life requires fast footwork.

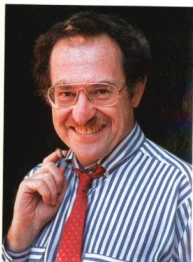
picks up the story at the point where Mallabar, in glamorous, leonine middle age, has lost track of the scruples part of his success formula. His nemesis is Hope Clearwater, who is on the lam from a troubled marriage in England and working as one of several learned acolytes who patiently observe and record the diurnal activities of chimps. She is assigned a small number of animals who have separated from the main group, and almost at once she stumbles on big news. *Peaceful primates*? Strictly sloganeering. The chimps are capable of killing and cannibalism. Before long, she realizes that a kind of genocide is occurring, the destruction of the splinter group.

Brazzaville Beach can be enjoyed as a superior suspense yarn: Will our heroine, who is no crusader but merely following scientific principles, prevail against the mur-

None of this for Dershowitz, then or now. His attire, jokes and attitude proclaim him as the peddler's militant grandson: out for social justice and civil rights, and along the way maybe a little advertising wouldn't hurt.

Dershowitz is guilty of many excesses, but moral blindness is not one of them. That he leaves to his opponents: Angela Davis, a leader of the American Communist Party, used him as a consultant when she was charged with murder. Acquitted, she vowed to spend the rest of her life defending political prisoners. When she journeyed to Moscow, Dershowitz asked the radical to speak up on behalf of Soviet Jewry. She refused because "they are all Zionist fascists and opponents of socialism." Davis would urge that they be kept in prison where they belonged." Dershowitz's other targets include Pat Buchanan, Jesse Jackson, Meir Kahane and Norman Podhoretz. All made the mistake of locking horns with a master prosecutor; all come off a bloody second best.

It is on defense that the attorney is ill



Dershowitz: mouth of Webster, head of Clay

advised. His accounts of anti-Semitism in Europe and the Middle East are little more than a catalog borrowed from more capable historians. And his preening modesty belongs in a textbook of self-caricature: "Several years ago, Elie Wiesel flattered me by publicly stating that 'if there had been a few people like Alan Dershowitz during the 1930s and 1940s, the history of European Jewry might have been different.' Generous as the assessment is, it is an obvious exaggeration."

The author belongs on the short list of great trial lawyers, and his insights remain essential for understanding the American judicial process. But Dershowitz has a larger subject in mind: his ego. It would have been better to leave the appraisal to others. The man who does his own public relations has more thanchutzpah; he has a schlemiel for a client.

—By Stefan Kanfer

Songs in a Minor Key

BRIEF LIVES
by Anita Brookner

Random House; 260 pages; \$20

A gentle irony rests in the title of this novel, Anita Brookner's 10th, for the lives portrayed in it are anything but brief. Fay Dodworth, the narrator, is approaching 70 at the time she tells her story; her reminiscences are set off after seeing an obituary of Julia Wilberforce, who was nearly 80. Both women had achieved a certain fame when young, Julia as a sophisticated cabaret performer and Fay as a singer of ballads on the BBC. Their friendship did not begin then or, in truth, ever. They were thrown together because both married men who belonged to the same law firm and were forced to socialize. "I never liked her," Fay muses about Julia, "nor did she like me."

Within a few pages, Brookner's devoted fans will feel at home. For this is another exercise in the author's specialty, the weaving of a story that is much longer on atmospheric than plot. Thinking about Julia prompts Fay to begin thinking about herself: "I am a simple woman, and always was." She gave up her singing career to marry; unlike the haughty Julia, who was pushed out of the spotlight by age and changing public tastes in entertainers, Fay has no regrets about her diminished standing in the world. She does wonder why she and her husband were not happier together: "Now I realize that it is marriage which is the great temptation for a woman, and that one can, and perhaps should, resist it." But the car accident that left her a widow also took the resolution of this problem out of her hands.

To some tastes, *Brief Lives* will lack the salt of irony, the sense that the narrator is deluding herself about the past or revealing more about herself than she imagines. Such moments of surprising revelation never occur; Fay is without guile. Her resentment at Julia's imperious way with other people seems perfectly straightforward: "Why did she, without doing anything for anyone, inspire such devotion, while humbler, clumsier people like myself seemed doomed to do without?"

But in the end, Brookner turns her modest narrator into a figure of considerable strength and poignancy. Fay thinks of her old performances: "Only Make-Believe, runs the song. And You Are My Heart's Desire. And I'll Be Loving You Always. But though the words are affirmative the melodies are in a minor key, and sadder than they know." Life has not passed her by. It has simply not given her enough time to learn how to live it.

—By Paul Gray

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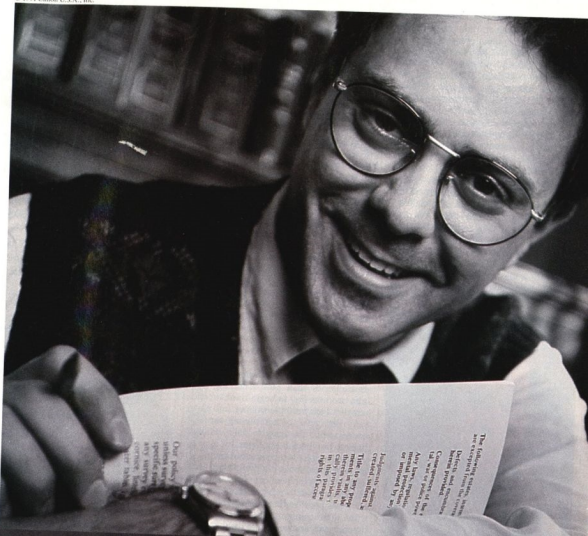
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People

By SOPHFRONIA SCOTT / Reported by Wendy Cole



Rapid Rap Rise

You know rap has cracked the mainstream when even the most radical fare hits the top of the pop charts. N.W.A.'s album *EFLAZAGGIN* is No. 1 this week on *Billboard*'s pop-album chart after just two weeks in release. The album (actually *NIGGAZ4LIFE* spelled backward) is a compilation of what the group calls "gangster rap"—inspired largely by the group's anger with society. The stuff gets crude, but its quick success shows that the rappers have enraptured a huge following. "People are hungry for N.W.A. Nobody can do it as good as we can," says N.W.A. member Dr. Dre. "We're underground reporters. We're just tellin' the news."

Reunited

One threw his dirty laundry around, the other picked it up, and the audience loved

it. Jack Klugman and Tony Randall were the classic odd couple for years on TV. So when his pal asked to join him once more for a benefit



performance, Klugman couldn't resist. "I would do anything for him, as he would for me," he says of Randall. The two will reunite June 23 in New York City for a one-night show of Neil Simon's *The Odd Couple* to raise funds for Randall's theater company. The play will be a challenge for Klugman: a bout with throat cancer has left his voice a raspy whisper. But with his determination and some heavy miking, the show will go on.

Cold Feet

Everyone was so looking forward to it. The nuptials of *Pretty Woman* star Julia Roberts and beau Kiefer Sutherland promised to be the Hollywood wedding of the decade. But it looks as if second thoughts got the better of the young couple, and the wedding was "postponed" just three days before the blessed event. Bride and groom refused to comment, which set Tinseltown tongues wagging on possible reasons for the delay. "Sometimes you just can't fix things



overnight," says Annette Wolf, Sutherland's spokeswoman. "They're trying to figure out what to do with their lives."

Deuce

The timing couldn't have been worse. As Martina Navratilova prepared for Wimbledon, she got smacked with a lawsuit by former lover Judy Nelson. Seems Nelson is seeking half the assets acquired during the seven years she spent with the tennis star. But last week Navratilova went to the net with a swipe of her own by appear-



ing on the syndicated TV show *A Current Affair*. "I am very hurt by everything that's happening," she said on the show. "Seven years, and now it all seems to come down to greed." *Affair* also aired a videotape the couple made in 1986 that shows them signing a partnership agreement. Navratilova calls the contract invalid and says she "didn't understand" what she was signing.

Better Than Ever

He's back on the good foot! Since winning his freedom in February, JAMES BROWN has been gearing up for a comeback. His pay-per-view concert last week not only drew more viewers than similar shows by the Who and the Grateful Dead but also showed



that the Godfather of Soul can still outmove and outsing his younger colleagues. While opening acts sang or lip-synched to taped music, Brown and his live band lit up the show with renditions of *Living in America* and *Sex Machine*. There's even more to come: Brown has signed a seven-year, five-album contract with Scotti Bros. Records and will launch a worldwide tour next month.

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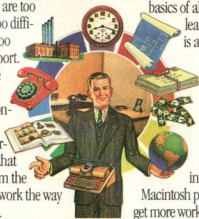
The April 29th *Business Week* cover story about product design put it quite bluntly: "Every day, across America millions of . . . highly competent men and women

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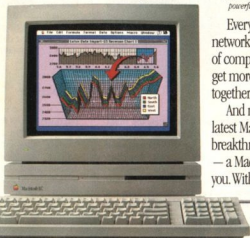


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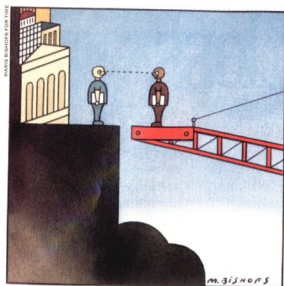
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Essay

Ellis Cose

Are Quotas Really The Problem?

In the rhetorical quagmire of the racial-quota debate, it's easy to lose sight of the fact that virtually all Americans abhor brazen racial favoritism. Blacks, whites, Democrats and Republicans alike passionately believe in the meritocracy, but radically disagree on whether we are becoming one.

Most nonwhite Americans know, deep in their bones, that the deck is unfairly stacked against them, while most whites know, with absolute certainty, that such is profoundly untrue, or at least that whatever discrimination exists is, for the most part, justified. That difference in perspective will endure long after the House-passed civil rights legislation is killed, compromised or enacted into law, for the fundamental discord is not over quotas but over the aptitude of those classed as racial minorities. Non-"Anglos" may not typically be tapped to run FORTUNE 500 companies or manage professional sports teams, but the reason—many whites quietly believe—has less to do with racial bias than with the failure of such groups to measure up. Those sentiments are, of course, rarely voiced in polite society. When they are (as by the likes of former Los Angeles Dodgers vice president Al Campanis, who observed that blacks lack "necessities"), condemnation is quick and merciless. Americans, after all, draw little pleasure from hurting people's feelings, especially those of the self-declared downtrodden. Such solicitude, however, does not translate into acceptance of affirmative action, which is widely perceived as little more than the elevation of incompetents beyond their ability.

Of course, everyone knows that occasional preferential treatment is inescapable; but when the beneficiary is a white male, we have a way of assuming that the basic ability exists, that in time the ambitious go-getter will grow into his unearned station. Even when qualifications are so slight (witness Dan Quayle) as to make a presumption of merit difficult, we

tend to see the incident as an aberration in a system that by and large works the way it should.

Favoritism toward minorities is viewed differently, because they themselves are viewed differently. A nationwide survey last year by the University of Chicago's National Opinion Research Center found three-fourths of white respondents agreeing that blacks were more likely than whites to prefer welfare to employment. Blacks were also thought likely to be lazy, violent and unintelligent. Hispanics were viewed in an equally negative light, and Asian Americans were seen as not much better. Obviously, if minority citizens are fundamentally flawed it is better to discriminate against them than against whites. Even if in the process a few deserving minorities are pushed aside, the meritocracy's essential integrity is maintained. To countless whites, such a rationalization of racial bias is morally defensible—while naked racism is not.

Only such an attitude could explain why so many acknowledge the existence of discrimination against minorities but oppose doing anything about it; or whites' stubborn insistence, in the face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary, that discrimination is not a problem. The majority of whites responding to a Washington Post/ABC News poll, for instance, denied that minority applicants encountered discrimination in hiring, even though they conceded that minority workers were less likely than whites to advance into management. Even among the large number—44%—who acknowledged discrimination, support for programs to end it was virtually nonexistent. In contrast, nearly 90% of blacks thought discrimination existed, and roughly two-thirds supported programs to ameliorate it.

To describe the difference in views as a disagreement over quotas is to deny the obvious impact of racial bias on American thought. White complacency about discrimination is not derived from mere opposition to preference programs. It is an example of how stereotypes, as they interact with a belief in the meritocracy, add up to a firm conviction that members of racial minorities deserve no better than they get.

Many Hispanics and blacks do poorly on certain tests, and this provides plausibly objective support for such ideas. Yet even before ability tests existed, society assumed that whites were an intellectually and morally superior race. Such a presumption is, in effect, a white American's birthright. Minorities face a society convinced that they are less fit, unless proved otherwise. As a result, even for the most talented nonwhites, the standard for advancement and access is different from that for whites—so-called quota programs notwithstanding. If management is predisposed to doubt the qualifications of minority applicants, ways will be found to neutralize such programs even as bosses offer (largely unconscious) advantages to whites.

In defense of affirmative action, Supreme Court Justice Harry Blackmun wrote in 1978: "In order to get beyond racism, we must first take account of race. . . . And in order to treat some persons equally, we must treat them differently." In the current racial climate, one can only conclude that taking account of race, even in a supposedly ameliorative way, does not guarantee the ability to get beyond race. The only question is how we choose to deal with it. Do we do so by applying outwardly unbiased policies that ultimately rely on the judgment and goodwill of those who assume minorities lack "necessities," or by following a racially conscious course that, in trying to set things right, stirs up massive resentment and animosity?

We seem fated to continue doing both at once. Given that, political leaders have the option either of exploiting racial tensions by ranting about quotas or of trying to help all Americans understand that a true meritocracy is impossible as long as we cling to racial stereotypes. It may be comforting to pretend that quotas lie at the root of America's racial problems. Yet deep down we probably all know that if the truth were so simple, quotas would not even be an issue. ■

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